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Nguyen Van Linh Address at the First Session of the Eighth National Assembly

42100012a Hanoi: TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 87 pp 1-10, 31

[Speech by Nguyen Van Linh]

[Text] Widely and Fully Practicing Socialist Democracy
Is the Key in the Adoption of New Political Thinking
and Economic Thinking

Dear National Assembly Deputies,

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The most significant political event taking place in our country recently was the successful elections to the National Assembly (8th Legislature) and to people's councils at different levels.

The elections, conducted in the spirit of renovation of the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, were more open and more democratic than previous elections and the people's mastery in choosing their representatives to the highest legislative body of the country was respected. The 496 deputies to the National Assembly (8th Legislature) gathered here today represent the will and aspirations of the people. They have the great honor and also the difficult task of deciding on matters that concern the renovation process and the destiny of the country.

On this occasion, allow me, on behalf of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, to greet all the deputies, comrades and friends attending this first session of the National Assembly (8th Legislature), and to wish them the best of health.

I also warmly welcome the representatives of the diplomatic corps attending the inauguration of the new National Assembly.

The 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam marked an important renovation in party leadership regarding all areas of social life. The new viewpoints and policies adopted by the congress show the way for our country to get out of a difficult situation and to gradually stabilize its socio-economic life. What our party and state have been doing since the congress all indicates a determination to follow this correct course.

Since the congress, the party and the state have focused on making structural and personnel adjustments in central and local offices. The state apparatus will be further consolidated as a result of the recent elections and the current session of the National Assembly. We all know very well that no policy can be well implemented unless there is a renovation in the state apparatus and in personnel. So what the people and the revolution badly need now is an effective, healthy state machinery. Only when order and discipline is re-established in the party

and in all state bodies will we be strong enough to re-establish order and discipline in society. The task of structural and personnel renovation, therefore, remains a foremost task at present and in the time to come.

Acting on the resolution of the 6th Party Congress and on the wishes of the people, the Political Bureau is actively preparing for a movement to purify the party and the state machinery, enhance their militancy and to make social relations healthy. The fight against degeneration in organization and personnel was stepped up when preparations were being made for the 6th Party Congress. Now it is being infused with a new strength. We know that the work is by no means easy.

But what is required of us is firmness and determination in waging the struggle vigorously and in the determined direction, in forging ahead with what we have just begun.

The 2d Plenum of the Party Central Committee last April tackled one of the important tasks set by the 6th Party Congress to solve urgent problems in distribution and circulation, which constitutes a vital area in which the people want to see success.

The guiding idea here is structural and policy renovation, the organization of distribution and circulation through correct application of economic laws, the reliance on planning as the main link, a broader utilization of all goods-money relationships, and a complete switch over to socialist business cost-accounting. All this is to be closely related to renovation of other links in economic management. The 2d Plenum examined and made policy decisions on the pricing and circulation of materials and goods, on salaries and welfare of government employees, workers and members of the armed forces and on financial matters and banking operations. The aim is a "reduction in four areas"—in inflation rate, in price rise, in budgeting deficit and in the difficulties encountered by salaried people, members of the armed forces and the working masses in general. All these policies have one thing in common—a correct use of the various economic benefits to create a dynamic force for production and commerce, in agriculture, industry, trade, finance and banking.

The resolution of the 2d Plenum is correct and realistic. Yet, its implementation will not be without hitch, partly because of the bad effects of adverse weather on agricultural production this year and partly because of imperfect management. So the important thing now is to strengthen leadership to translate all resolutions into concrete policies and measures and to make them binding to all levels of administration, all departments, all economic organizations and everybody else.

We are making structural adjustments in production and investment. We have decided to halt or delay a number of big construction projects so as to concentrate materials and manpower on those projects directly serving the three target programs set by the 6th Party Congress.

Firmly grasping the viewpoints and policies, the various services and localities are buckling down to tackle urgent problems which befall them to solve.

Reality shows that it is difficult to find correct courses and ways to solve socio-economic problems. And it is not easy either to guide and organize implementation and to create practical conditions for the new to prevail over the old and for right to get the better of wrong. Since the party congress, we have done a lot which clearly has had an impelling effect. So we must continue to step up this process of renovation along the course charted by the 6th Party Congress. For the moment the party and the state will study with concentration a relatively comprehensive renovation of the economic management mechanism while continuing to work out measures for the implementation of the three principal economic programs.

At this solemn meeting I am glad to report to the National Assembly on the good results of the official friendship visit paid to the Soviet Union from May 17-22 by a high-level delegation of our party.

The visit was made in the 70th year of the Great October Socialist Revolution, at a time when the communist parties and the peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union are resolutely working for renovation and reorganization in the light of the resolutions of the 6th CPV Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress, and against the background of great changes in both the international and regional scenes favorable to the struggle for peace and socialism.

The visit took place in an atmosphere of sincerity, mutual understanding, mutual trust and mutual support. The two parties had identical views on key matters of domestic and foreign policies. Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders fully sympathized with, highly appreciated and supported the correct line and policies of the 6th CPV Congress and the resolution of the 2d Plenum of the CPV Central Committee. The Soviet side noted with satisfaction that the CPV Central Committee was actively and urgently solving Vietnam's economic problems and other pressing problems in a correct way. The Soviet side sympathized with and was deeply impressed by our decision to launch a drive to purify the party and the state machinery, enhance their militancy and make social relations healthy. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union not only expressed its sympathy, but also showed its determination to contribute to the success of the 6th Congress's resolution.

The great success of the visit was clear from the joint communique and from the various agreements subsequently signed by representatives of the two parties and state. I would like to stress that the Soviet Union completely agrees with our party's decision to resolutely shift the emphasis in our economic relations from loaning and trade to mutually-profitable production cooperation in various fields such as agriculture, consumer

industry, mechanical engineering, electronics, mining, the chemical industry, etc. The approval and great support of the Communist Party, the government and the people of the Soviet Union is not only a great encouragement to the Communist Party and the people of Vietnam, but also a factor of paramount importance which will create new possibilities for better utilization of human, land and other natural resources and all existing productive capacities, and which, as a result, will provide us with favorable conditions to participate more widely and deeply in international socialist labor division, to increase efficiency in foreign trade, step by step stabilize the socio-economic situation and prepare necessary premises for socialist industrialization on an expanded scale.

Nevertheless, for these results to become a reality, we must make extraordinary efforts in implementation.

We must have new ways of thinking, new approaches to organization and personnel work, a new style and a higher sense of responsibility, and must fulfill our commitments in economic relations with the Soviet Union. We must resolutely do away with the attitude of dependency still dominant in a considerable number of cadres at various echelons, in various departments and even in the population.

The two sides also reached an identity of views on all international issues and on ways to solve them with a view to maintaining peace and strengthening each country as well as the whole socialist community, thereby contributing towards a health international and regional situation.

We reaffirmed the full support of the Communist Party and the people of Vietnam for the Soviet Union's important initiatives in easing tension, pushing back the danger of nuclear war and consolidating peace and security throughout the world. Vietnam and the Soviet Union will strive to materialize the concept of turning Asia and the Pacific into a region of peace, stability, good neighborhood and cooperation on the basis of joint efforts by all countries in the region. We reaffirm our desire to settle the Kampuchean issue by political means and to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China.

The Soviet leadership fully agreed with and supported this policy.

The fine success of the visit marks a new, important qualitative development in the traditional friendship between the communist parties and the peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. It is the natural result of a foreign policy which is correct, consistent and full of the spirit of socialist internationalism fostered and nurtured by the two parties and people in a long revolutionary process.

In the spirit of all-around renovation generated by the 6th Party Congress, this National Assembly also sets itself the task of renovating its work thoroughly in order to successfully fulfill the important mission entrusted it by the whole people. In this regard, the central work which occupies all our attention and energy will be, as pointed out in the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, the improvement of the efficiency of state management. It is of primary importance for the party to exercise its leadership to the whole society and for the working people to exercise their mastery with the party as the leader, the people as the master and the state as the manager. What is the most significant in enhancing the efficiency of socialist state management—first of all the National Assembly, the State Council and the people's councils at all levels—is that socialist democracy must be broadly and fully exercised. This is the core of the renovation of political and economic thinking in our country at present. Socialism enjoys two big advantages which did not exist in previous social systems.

One is a high degree of organization and centralism which result from public ownership of means of production, the other role of emancipated workers as genuine master of the society and the country, and their great potentials in national defense and construction. If all these strengths are tapped we will be invincible. In studying the dialectic unity of these two aspects, it is clear that the foundation and origin of the strength of our society and the main factor for the preservation and promotion of the gains of revolution is none other than this role of the working masses themselves. This truth is completely clear and has been at each stage of our own revolution.

In the days when we were not in power our party, only with its correct political line, which was in conformity with the interests of the people and which, therefore, had their support, was able to lead and organize the people in successfully carrying out the August revolution and, consequently, in establishing the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia. In the great war against the U.S. imperialists we were armed with a deadly weapon in the form of this statement by President Ho Chi Minh: "Work, however easy, cannot be done without the people; work, however difficult, can always be done with the people's participation." This weapon, a weapon of people's war, helped us regain independence, freedom and national reunification, to the admiration of other peoples in the world.

Now, in the present historical conditions, when a single administration is running the affairs of the whole country in the double strategic task of defending and building socialist Vietnam, the lesson "the people are the root," which is recalled in the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, remains valid.

Not only that, it has taken on a special meaning. This is because socialist revolution—the most revolutionary, most thorough-going revolution, and which takes place

in all areas of social life—can be successful only if it has the participation of millions of people, of the entire people, who act in the most active way and with a high sense of mastery. Past experiences have shown that where and when one failed to involve the masses in a seething revolutionary movement, there was no progress in work, and negative phenomena would invariably occur. And the most important conditions for a mass revolutionary movement to take place is that all party and state policies must be correct and must have the approval of the people. Then cadres must be democratic-minded, must always be in touch with the people and listen to them, must be politically sound and morally blameless, and must know how to organize the people and win their participation.

General consensus, basically, is correct in most cases. Any major policies of the party and the state, therefore, must necessarily be put to public debates. As I have said many times, that the resolution of the 6th Party Congress can be as perfect as it is in its present form is because it is the common work of the entire party and the entire people. This is a valuable lesson which we must fully grasp now and in the future as well.

The truth about people being the root may seem to be a simple one to be readily understood by all. But in practice it is not so. Is that because once in power, not a few of us tend to overstress the use of power and the giving of orders while neglecting the necessity to persuade the people, discuss with them and encourage them to work? Some go so far as fearing that the promotion of democracy would be in the way of democratic centralism and would impede the exercise of power. The separation of centralism from democracy, from their dialectic unity, will only lead to bureaucratic centralism, to formal centralism. We can cite many sad instances of violations of people's mastery at all levels of party organization, all administrative echelons, all elective bodies. I myself receive every day many complaints from many sources—most of them I believe to be well-grounded—about malpractices by corrupt officeholders who more than once turned a deaf ear to sincere criticisms by the masses. It is regrettable that prosecution and trial is too often delayed, and many cases have been overlooked.

The power we have is the power of the laboring people; it is "from the people and for the people." President Ho Chi Minh said in this regard: "All of us, from the president down to cadres at the lowest echelon, must try to be the most loyal servants of the people." If we detach ourselves from the people and look down upon them, we are just nothing and our power is just a clay-footed giant. More than anyone else, National Assembly deputies and people's council representatives at all levels—people directly elected by the masses—must truthfully and candidly say what the masses say, and must courageously defend their legitimate interests. Before casting his vote, a voter must certainly think very carefully, because he is going, as the saying goes, "to choose the right persons who can be entrusted with gold." I know you all had

pre-election meetings with your voters to whom you must have made all sorts of promises. But can we be sure that now elected, all of us will remember our promises to the people and will keep our word? I also know that in previous legislatures, some deputies made themselves scarce to their electorates the whole of their terms. Although they did that with ample excuses, people could not help remarking, "how difficult it is for the 'masters' to see their 'servants'."

Delegates of the people, at any level, must understand that they are the bridge connecting their constituencies with administrative bodies at all levels, and as such, must build up a strong two-way relationship between the constituencies and the elected offices. This relationship insures that the deputies grasp their constituencies' thinking, aspirations and constructive opinions and submit them to higher levels. At the same time, the deputies themselves have the duty to inform and explain to the people about new policies and decisions of the party and state. Direct contacts with the people in the form of dialogues are always an exciting experience. Opinions heard directly from the people are always original and free from distortions. They will help the deputies to ponder over and analyze the people's suggestions before submitting them to higher levels, thus contributing to building and perfecting the policies and undertakings.

Above is one of the important ways to materialize the principle "let the people know, discuss, implement and inspect." To let the people know, we must really publicize all necessary matters. To make them actively participate in discussions, we must listen to them in a really democratic way and accept their rightful ideas. To make them implement the policies consciously, we must generate real revolutionary movements and respect and protect their legitimate interests. To get the people actively taking part in inspection work, we must act promptly upon the detection of negative deeds, reward the detractors and punish the culprits and forbid all forms of revenge.

I think that the forums of the National Assembly and people's councils at all levels must be better used by attaching more importance to substance and effectiveness. These forums must be the places where the people, through their deputies, may voice their suggestions and observations on matters of consequence for the country and localities, including the elaboration and implementation of policies and undertakings, the functioning of the administrative offices and also personnel appointments. The suggestions by deputies to the National Assembly and people's councils must be seriously studied by the office concerned. They must receive feedback and if proved correct must be acted upon. All important matters under the jurisdiction of the state must be brought up for really democratic discussions at the National Assembly and the Council of State before they are made into official decisions. Under no circumstances are we allowed to place the elected bodies before faits accomplis and the only alternative for them is to rubber stamp.

Honorable deputies, another important matter which deserves our attention is to increase the role of the National Assembly as the organ of legislation and supervision of the enactment of law.

The Communist Party of Vietnam is the party in power. It exercises its leadership toward the whole society through the issue of major lines and policies, the inspection of the work of the administrative bodies and suggestions for the elected bodies to assign capable and worthy cadres to key positions in the state apparatus. The task of the state is to institutionalize the party lines and undertakings into laws, appropriate policies and regulations, work out plans for socio-economic development and organize their effective implementation through the exercise of its function of socio-economic management defined in the Constitution, etc. In the whole of the above mentioned work of the socialist state, the National Assembly holds an important place in its capacity as the body of legislation and control functioning on the basis of the party's lines and embodying the people's will and aspiration.

The mechanism in which the party is the leader, the people are the collective master and the state is the manager can operate only through law and be guaranteed by law. A progressive, disciplined and orderly society is regulated chiefly by law not only as an instrument of coercion but also as an instrument for active education. Society, at the same time, requires that all the citizens, irrespective of their positions and posts, live and work according to law. At present, we lack many laws and rules to manage the country. Even with regard to the laws in force, many people care little to inquire into them. Law enactment lacks stringency. The popularization and education of law are not given due attention. These are some of the many reasons for the present state of things when the number of criminal offenses does not decrease, social order is not well preserved and social safety is not guaranteed. When people do not understand law, they may unconsciously violate it. Neither are they able to exercise their right to mastery in supervising the enactment of law by state bodies. Besides, we must rely on the people if we are to wage a victorious struggle against negative manifestations in society. Lenin once asked why the instances of law breaking remained high while Russia did not lack laws. And he answered: "Only with the help of the masses themselves can that struggle (the struggle against negative aspects) be carried through." Without any doubt, the people's knowledge of law will give them a powerful weapon to effectively combat the negative aspects. The working masses must use law as a weapon to defend socialist democracy. Only then can our democracy improve constantly and can we check the degeneration of cadres.

The inadequate understanding of law among our people has many origins. Our country has long been a country of small producers. The relations between man and man in communal life were formerly regulated chiefly by customs and social opinion and these relations differed

from one locality to another. Although the feudal regime had its own law and rules, but in quite a few cases "the village rules prevail over the king's laws." In the colonial times, the laws promulgated by the colonialist state were aimed at defending the prerogatives of a small number of colonialists and feudalists, and they were contrary to the interests of the masses. From this prejudice against the laws of the old regimes, a section of our population has a prejudice against any laws including the laws of the socialist regime. A number of our cadres in positions of power, influenced by the residual feudalistic ideology or under individualistic motivations, have made their will the supreme dictate, have placed themselves above and out of the reach of state laws, and even condoned law-breaking acts. In addition, the light-handed dealing with and even overlooking of law-breaking acts have also given rise to a certain attitude of slighting law.

The 6th Party Congress deeply analyzed this situation and laid down the task of managing the country by law. The congress asked everybody, every cadre, every party member, whatever his or her position, to live and work according to law. But if we want to manage society by law we must care for building up the laws and step by step complement and perfect them to insure that the state apparatus be organized and could function according to law.

What the congress requires from the legal organs is in many ways related to the work of our 8th National Assembly. We already have a Constitution, the fundamental law of the socialist state. Of late, a number of important laws have been promulgated. Compared to the previous national assemblies, the recent 7th assembly has taken one step further in the exercise of its legislative power.

Worthy of note is that the 7th assembly has passed many laws on the organization of the state apparatus, the penal code and the law on marriage and the family. At the same time, the Council of Ministers has passed a number of decrees. However, compared to the demand of building a complete, comprehensive legal system we still lack many things, especially an economic law, to say nothing of the need to change or renovate the obsolete regulations especially those which tend to maintain the regime of bureaucratic centralism based on state subsidies. These are urgent questions. We have been slow in carrying out many undertakings and if ever something was done it tended to be casual and often did not receive strict enforcement. This is due in no small measure to the absence of standards and regulations of a legal character. For instance, our party and state stand for expansion of our external economic activities, but so long as a law on foreign investments in our country has not been completed, the execution of this policy will to some extent meet with constraints. Likewise, we are actively implementing the new mechanism of economic management with the grassroots economic unit as the

centerpiece. But so long as the law on state-owned enterprises has not been completed, the operations of the enterprise cannot be fully guaranteed on the juridical aspect.

I said this because I wish that from now on our National Assembly would pay more attention to the legislative work. I think it is time that along with the renovation of our economic thinking, we should also renovate our legal thinking, plan our legislative work and decide on a program for quicker legislation and overcome the sluggishness which has drawn on for too long.

As well as the laws, we must see that other important questions such as the state plans and the major policies to be submitted by the Council of Ministers for adoption by the National Assembly could reflect in a more adequate and accurate manner the opinions of the deputies to the National Assemblies. This is a question at the center of concern of many. In order that these laws and policies really represent the wisdom and will of the National Assembly, it is necessary to create conditions for each deputy as well as all members of the permanent commissions of the National Assembly to have the time to study carefully, not just to study the documents but also to make inquiries into realities and collect the broad opinions of the people. The deputies must be supplied the necessary and truthful information relating to the subject in question from any organ. If it is an important question, it must be published on the mass media so that it can be known to everyone and arouse the interest and the participation of the people. In this way the deputies will certainly have more documents to enrich their thinking to make well-grounded suggestions. Then, of course, it is necessary to organize well public and open discussion and debates. What should be dreaded is not the divergence of opinions in the process of debate, but actually the superficial unity which usually leads to each acting his own way when it comes to implementation. A resolution is a decision taken by the overwhelming majority of the deputies to the National Assembly, hence it is an act of law, a supreme order to be carried out by the executive organs and no organization nor individual, whatever his position or in whoever's name he may act, can put off the implementation of or change a resolution of the National Assembly. Power must be associated with and guaranteed by efficacy.

The elaboration and adoption of laws and other major resolutions, however important, is only the initial step. The most difficult thing is to introduce them into life and to turn them into the everyday practice of the broad masses of the population.

Here the role of the National Assembly is to control and inspect the implementation at all levels, from the Council of Ministers, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Organ of Control and the other state organs to the daily activities of the masses. Through this control and inspection work the National Assembly shall complement and perfect the legal documents already

promulgated as well as discover the difficulties and hurdles in the process of their implementation in order to make recommendations to the administrative bodies at various levels for necessary readjustments or amendments. Also through this process of control and inspection the National Assembly may advance its evaluation of the work of the state organs, of the capacity and quality of the leading cadres and bring to light the criminals, including those in positions of power, and to ask for their severe punishment by competent organs. As the highest representative body of the people, the National Assembly has the full power to question and criticize the Council of Ministers and dismiss any of its members if he proves unworthy and bring to trial those individuals and organs who commit wrongdoings serious enough to be sanctioned.

The point is how can these powers of the National Assembly be exercised. Many facts in the previous national assemblies prove that not always and not in all circumstances is the voice of the highest representatives of the people respected. Some readily accepted criticism but only by word and afterward either did nothing or acted otherwise. It is also not uncommon to see a written recommendation of a deputy of the National Assembly to a state organ or a leading official asking him to clarify or solve an affair stacked in the files from one year to another without feedback.

That decidedly cannot continue. We cannot allow further prolongation of formalism and bureaucratism right at the highest organ of power of the country. The National Assembly must be the most representative organ of our country in the efficacy of power and the essence of socialist democracy. If that can be done, we will surely set a good example to the people's councils at various levels as well as to all other organizations. I think that the legal instruments to this effect including the Constitution are more than sufficient and there is no need to add anything. What we need now is to set to action, to renovate our work and to implement the existing documents fully and thoroughly.

In the final analysis, whether or not the National Assembly can accomplish its functions as defined by law depends on the sense of responsibility of each deputy in his or her contributions. As delegates of the people, I think that the lofty moral value of this title derives from the fact that the deputy is united with the people as flesh and blood, speaks up their voices and represents their aspirations and legitimate interests. The opinions of the deputy must be the crystallization of the thought and the rightful and sincere aspiration of the section of the population he represents. Though we are delegates of different social strata and different localities, our thoughts and actions are one and the same, that is, for the interests of the people throughout the country and of socialism.

If such is our understanding, we could no longer allow the continuation of the passive attitude of twice a year

attending the two sessions of the National Assembly while taking little care of how to make the suggestions to the National Assembly substantial.

To arrange time to meet the people, to ponder day and night over the problems raised by them, to have a plan for inquiring into the policies and undertakings of the party and the state as well as to acquire the necessary economic, political and social information in order to expand our range of view and heighten our standard or knowledge, these are what makes up the capacity of a people's delegate.

Honorable deputies, comrades and friends,

The National Assembly holds an important position and plays a major role in the system of state organs. It is regrettable to note that besides the achievements already obtained, we must admit that the previous National Assemblies have not fully exercised their obligations and powers, the effect of their activities were limited, not commensurate with the expectation of the people. This is a weak link in the activity of the state apparatus of proletarian dictatorship and also a big shortcoming of the party in its leadership toward the administration, a shortcoming which has lasted too long and to which we have been too slow to bring a remedy.

The 8th National Assembly was elected and will operate in a watershed period of the country inaugurated by the 6th Congress of the Party. This period urgently requires that we renovate our thinking and our way of doing things in a deep and overall manner in all spheres of activity in order to step by step stabilize the socio-economic situation, firmly maintain the defense capacity and national security, take the revolution of our country to ride over the present difficulties and trials and steadily forge ahead. The 8th National Assembly has the great responsibility of contributing to the successful implementation of the objectives and tasks set by the 6th Party Congress. In the spirit of renovation, the National Assembly and its standing commissions will work in a practical and effective manner, overcome formalism and bureaucratism and make ever bigger contributions to the revolutionary cause. The Communist Party of Vietnam believes that the deputies to the National Assembly will do their best to accomplish with flying colors their mission of delegates, worthy of the confidence and expectation of the people.

May the first session of the 8th National Assembly by a complete success!

Thank you.

Speech by Pham Hung at the First Session of the Eighth National Assembly
42100012b Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 87 p 11

[Speech by Pham Hung]

[Text] Dear Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee,

Dear Truong Chinh,

Dear Pham Van Dong,

Dear National Assembly deputies,

The 8th National Assembly, having elected the leadership agencies of the state, reflects succession in keeping with the spirit of change of the 6th Party Congress.

In the new National Assembly, Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong, having been assigned the important responsibility of serving as advisors to the Party Central Committee, did not stand for election as National Assembly deputies and will not hold state leadership positions.

Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong, both outstanding students of the revered President Ho Chi Minh, are staunch communist militants who have made sacrifices and struggled throughout their lives for the revolutionary cause of our party and people. In the struggle for national liberation as well as in the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong were entrusted by the entire party and all the people with the weighty responsibility of holding key leadership positions of the party and state. Both of these comrades made outstanding contributions, made large and important contributions to the causes of liberating the nation, reunifying the fatherland and advancing the entire country to socialism, to building and strengthening the proletarian dictatorship state in our country, to helping us overcome countless difficulties and record glorious achievements. These two comrades have set bright examples of dedicated service to the revolution, loyalty to the country, and filialty to the people and have won the love and admiration of all the people and the respect of friends throughout the world.

On behalf of our fellow countrymen and soldiers nationwide, the National Assembly hereby formally commends these two comrades for the enormous service they have performed. On this occasion, the National Assembly, on behalf of the people of our entire country, wishes to express deep respect for and wholehearted gratitude to Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong. Under the leadership of the glorious CPV, the National Assembly is determined to conduct its activities in a new way in keeping with the spirit of the address by General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh opening this legislature of the National Assembly and stand shoulder to shoulder with all the people and armed forces to implement the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, record new, large achievements in socialist construction and the defense of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland and make worthy contributions to the struggle of the people of the world for peace and friendship among the nations of Southeast Asia and the world.

From the bottom of our hearts, we wish these two comrades good health, a long life and continued contributions to the glorious revolutionary cause of our party and people.

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Speech by Truong Chinh at the 1st Session of the 8th National Assembly
42100012c Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 87 p 12

[Speech by Truong Chinh]

[Text] Dear General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh,

Dear presiding officers,

Dear National Assembly deputies,

Pham Van Dong and I are very deeply moved by the sincere and warm feelings expressed for us by the National Assembly, by the fellow countrymen and soldiers of our entire country, through the beautiful words just spoken by Pham Hung. Allow me to express our deep gratitude and promise to forever remember these pure sentiments.

Over the years, having been assigned important leadership responsibilities by the party and state, we have always enjoyed the trust and wholehearted support of the National Assembly and Council of State. On this occasion, we sincerely thank all our comrades and fellow countrymen for this trust and support. We clearly understand that this has been an enormous source of inspiration helping us to complete our tasks.

We are firmly confident that, imbued with the spirit of change and grasping the profound meaning of the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, the 8th National Assembly, as the representative of the will and aspirations of the people, will always make the people its base and will surely make positive contributions to the successful performance of the strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

We pledge to the National Assembly and to our fellow countrymen nationwide that we will do our very best to continue to serve the fatherland in the new task assigned us by the party and people.

We wish the National Assembly outstanding success in the performance of its duties. We wish its deputies robust health and many new successes.

May you live, fight, work, study in the example set by the great Uncle Ho!

We thank you.

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Some Thoughts on Adopting a New Style of Work
42100012d Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 87 pp 19-24, 42

[Article by Tran Xuan Bach]

[Text] The style of work is a theoretical and practical issue which is directly related to the quality of leadership and the fighting strength of the party. To every leader, the style of work is a factor and an expression of his qualities and abilities, is related to his ability to think and his ability to perform practical organizational work and directly affects the performance of his task.

The 6th Congress of our party launched a restructuring campaign in our country. Renovation is an enormous task, one which will entail a long process in all fields of social life, at the heart of which is the restructuring of the economic management mechanism. Progress cannot be made if we stubbornly retain the old mechanism instead of restructuring it. Our country's revolution is taking place against the background of a world in which many strong changes are occurring. If we do not carry out this restructuring campaign, our nation cannot adapt to the times. This campaign demands that we quickly adopt new work methods, correct the negative phenomena in our style of work and fully and seriously meet the requirements of the Leninist style under present conditions.

Furthermore, in order for this restructuring to occur, there must be forces behind it. The force behind this restructuring is the leadership of the party. Restructuring within the party and the adoption of new style of leadership by the party, these are the forces behind the restructuring of society, of the country.

Our party is the party of the Vietnamese working class, is a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, is the party in power and leading socialist construction. Our party has Marxism-Leninism as its ideological foundation and the compass for its actions. It properly combines patriotism with proletarian internationalism and adherence to principle with creativity. It maintains close and constant ties to the laboring masses. The party is organized in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. The practice of criticism and self-criticism is a law in the development of the party. The discipline of the party is strict but just.

The character and distinguishing characteristics of the party determine the style of leadership and the work methods of party organizations and the leadership cadres of the party. In other words, adopting a new style of work is an objective requirement in improving the party's ability to lead and increasing its fighting strength, thus insuring that the revolutionary and scientific character of the party is developed. The adoption of a new

style of work is an important guarantee of success in the restructuring of all the activities of the party and state, is a necessary prerequisite to the continued advance by our country's revolution.

According to the resolution of the 6th Party Congress, the adoption of a new style of leadership and new work methods encompasses many broad subjects and is of far reaching significance. It is closely related to the adoption of new thinking and the adoption of a new approach to organizational and cadre work. The adoption of new thinking is the prerequisite to the adoption of a new approach to organizational and cadre work and the adoption of a new style. The adoption of a new style is the prerequisite to the adoption of new thinking and the adoption of a new approach to organizational and cadre work. We must adopt new thinking as part of our style and part of our organizational and cadre work. Likewise, we must adopt a new style of thinking and a new style of work in the field of organizational and cadre work. The adoption of new thinking includes the adoption of a new style; the adoption of a new style includes the adoption of new thinking...

Here, we only want to stress a number of points.

1. The purpose of adopting a new style is to achieve unity between theory and practice, to achieve consistency between words and actions.

Unity between theory and practice, consistency between words and actions are the first basic characteristic of the Leninist style. They are also urgent requirements of us in the current situation. Only with unity between theory and practice, only when words go hand in hand with actions is it possible to achieve results in our work and give the masses stronger confidence in our party, state and system.

Now, more than ever before, we must firmly adhere to theoretical principles, firmly adhere to and correctly apply objective laws, particularly the economic laws that are in effect during the period of transition to socialism, adopt correct and effective policies and solutions and combat subjective and convenient attitudes and thinking as well as the habit of working with no regard for the laws that apply. The lesson in adhering to laws and acting in accordance with laws, a lesson which was drawn by the 6th Congress from the realities of recent years, has been a profound and costly lesson to us. Only by adhering to laws is it possible to adopt new thinking, or to think and act correctly. Of course, adhering to laws does not mean falling into dogmatism or empiricism. Likewise, being creative and flexible does not mean disregarding principles and laws. Both of these tendencies are wrong and both can lead to major harm to the revolution and cause socialism to either be rigid or to become distorted.

There is no other way to grasp theory than by making every effort to study and learn theory and adopting a new approach to theoretical work, one which spreads democracy and expands the debate and discussion of scientific issues. At the same time, it is necessary to establish throughout the party a system that provides rapid and accurate information. Every level and sector must establish its own information system and insure that information is objective and accurate. We must correct the practice of only wanting to hear information compatible with our desires, with the "tastes" of the leader, as a result of which achievements are embellished and shortcomings are concealed. We must harshly criticize the habit of submitting reports that are wrong, harshly criticize opportunism and the practices of flattering superiors while lying to the masses and subordinates.

It is upsetting to large numbers of party members and the masses that the words of some leadership cadres do not match their actions, that some leadership cadres say much but do little, speak but do not act or even say one thing but do another. These habits not only make it impossible to turn the directives and resolutions of the party into reality, but also cause the masses to have less confidence and to doubt the party's abilities to organize implementation, to doubt the correctness of some of the party's resolutions. It was not by accident that Lenin frequently reminded Russian communists: "Speak fewer flowery words and perform more simple, everyday jobs. Show more concern for each pood of wheat and each pood of coal!" (1) Uncle Ho also often advised cadres and party members to be in the forefront, set examples, perform practical work and insure that their words match their actions. If they do not set examples, if their words do not match their actions, they cannot educate or persuade anyone and will ultimately be unable to accomplish anything.

In the present situation, in order for his words to match his actions, the leader must, on the one hand, display high party consciousness, display the spirit of dedication and sacrifice, the spirit of overcoming difficulties and enduring hardships and must dare to think, to act and to assume responsibility. On the other hand, he must be scientific and practical in his thinking. When setting policies and proposing solutions, he must avoid being overly ambitious and impractical and not go beyond actual capabilities and propose that too many jobs be performed at the same time. He must avoid the general, simplistic approach of only stating general guidelines or principles but not developing specific solutions to specific problems. The scientific and practical style demands that the leader always act on the basis of the specific situation. It demands that he be dynamic and quick to respond. It demands that he dare to squarely face the truth and that he courageously and resolutely change policies and measures which are not consistent with practice and do not yield practical results.

2. Implementing the principle of democratic centralism well and emphasizing collective leadership in conjunction with greater personal accountability.

The strength of the party lies in its sense of organization and discipline, in the full implementation of the principle of democratic centralism. In recent years, the principle of democratic centralism in the life and activities of the party has been violated, which has led to bureaucratic centralism, paternalism and arbitrariness as well as to localism and a lack of organization and discipline. These are two manifestations of the same petty bourgeois psychology, a psychology which is both "leftist" and rightist.

We must rapidly restore the principle of democratic centralism in party life, restore order and strengthen discipline within the party and within the state apparatus. Only in this way is it possible to increase the party's fighting strength, increase the effectiveness of the state apparatus and have the strength needed to restore order in society.

Before issuing decisions, leadership agencies must solicit the opinions of basic units, the lower level, specialists, scientists and the broad masses. They must give their attention to studying the creative experiences of basic units and the masses. They must listen to and respect the opinions of the masses. In the face of matters concerning which there are differing opinions, it is even more necessary to be close to practice, close to the masses, to study, examine and summarize practice and engage in democratic and open debate in order to reach clear and scientific conclusions. We must avoid reaching general conclusions which accommodate everyone's views but ultimately result in a decision that embodies compromise and half-way measures, a decision which not only lacks an impact, but which also causes adverse consequences in work and upon internal unity. The leaders of every level and sector must cultivate in themselves the style of calmly listening to contrary opinions, of being ready to "correct themselves," accept the correct opinions of others and acknowledge their own inadequacies. They should not conservatively cling to and defend their own wrong opinions simply because they want to save face, simply because of conceit or the fear of losing their "prestige." Even when they, themselves, bring new matters to light, positive as well as negative matters, leaders should not jump to a conclusion or consider their opinions to be the truth. The most correct attitude to take here is to assign a number of qualified and competent comrades to collectively research, investigate and discuss the matter before reaching a conclusion. Only in this way is it possible to avoid conclusions that are arbitrary and inaccurate.

In particular, very much attention must be given to practicing broader democracy in cadre work. Every leadership cadre has superiors above him. At the same time, each has subordinates and masses below him. It is not enough to evaluate a cadre only on the basis of the opinions of his superiors. Superiors frequently only work with or have contact with the cadre on the lower level on a number of different occasions during a specific period of time. They cannot know all that there is to know about

each cadre under their management. Meanwhile, cadres on the same level and the masses at basic units have regular contact with leadership cadres and know them well. Sometimes, superiors look down and only see the "hat" of a cadre. However, the lower level and the masses at basic units see this cadre's "whole body." Thus, why should we rely solely upon the opinions of the upper level? This is not to mention how cadres are evaluated when their superiors on the upper level are bureaucratic. Of course, the upper level has the authority to make the final decision and is responsible for the cadre work under its management. However, the upper level must listen to and survey the opinions of the cadres on the lower level and the masses. Cadre work must be democratized. The democratization of cadre work must be considered the key in restructuring the corps of cadres and the basis of the cadre management mechanism.

Adopting a new style of work also means firmly maintaining the principles and improving the quality of the activities of party committees and the basic organizations of the party. At present, many party committees and party chapters are lax about conducting activities. The quality of these activities is not high. They are activities "for form's sake." The conditions must be created for each party member to be able to express his opinions concerning each matter related to the party chapter and for party committee members to know in advance which matters the party committee will discuss and decide. The best approach is to inform party committee members in advance of the matters to be discussed, the alternatives to be considered and the parameters and projections that have been prepared. At the conference of the party committee or party chapter, there must be truly democratic debate so that each resolution adopted is the product of the intelligence of the collective.

Developing collectivism in leadership does not mean denying or reducing personal accountability. It is wrong to be dogmatic but it is also wrong for the individual to not dare to assume responsibility, not dare to make a decision. The collective, democratic work style can only exert a good impact if it is combined with personal accountability, with an emphasis upon personal accountability.

Practicing broader democracy in party life must not lead to formal democracy or democracy not based in principle. To be correct, democracy must be guided by centralism and go hand in hand with centralism. Dynamism and creativity must be based on the lines and policies of the party. Liberalism, the lack of discipline, partialism, localism, decentralization, fragmentation, sloppiness and carelessness are not democracy.

3. Adopting a new style means being practical, relying upon the masses and combating bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy is a widespread and serious malady within our society, is a major obstacle to our progress. In view of their large scale and complexity, the restructuring campaign and socialist construction demand that we wage a determined struggle against bureaucracy and strengthen our ties with the masses. Regulations and measures must be adopted which require that leadership cadres maintain close contact with the masses, listen to the opinions of the lower level and the masses and resolve specific problems on the spot.

The leader must know how to schedule work and utilize time efficiently. This is manifested in the leader knowing how to formulate a work program scientifically. Of the five main jobs of a leader (meeting with cadres, reading, attending meetings, studying and visiting basic units), much time must be set aside for meeting with cadres and visiting basic units. The leader should not allow meetings to take up too much of his time. At present, there are still some key cadres who go about their work in any manner that suits convenience and have no program. Some comrades do not attach appropriate importance to drawing up a program, do not know how to draw up a program or draw up programs that are programs in name only. We must realize that a work program is truly a tactical plan, is the result of concentrated thinking, not simply a list of jobs that reflects groundless, subjective desires.

With regard to visiting basic units, the leader must decide where to go, when to go, how long to stay there, what his objectives and task are and which measures should be taken to achieve these objectives and complete this task. And, of importance is the need for the leader to anticipate and prepare answers for the questions he will be asked. Only through concentrated thinking is it possible to analyze and summarize the situation, to learn facts, to learn the truth. A person who goes to visit a basic unit unprepared is not a leader. Some comrades visit very many basic units, make such visits week after week and think that this is what it means to be in close touch with practice, that this is all that is needed to learn the truth. But more than this is required. To learn the truth, the leader absolutely must prepare himself mentally and should not make visits to basic units a cursory, for "form's sake" affair.

It is necessary to study the experience of both advanced units and places which are experiencing difficulties or are weak and deficient. Places which are experiencing difficulties or are weak and deficient need the presence of a leader very much. The leader going to such places must answer the questions: how are we weak and deficient? Why are we weak and deficient? Which corrective measures must be taken? What are our positive factors? When going to a place where the movement is above average, the leader must be able to explain the sincerity and stability of the movement and determine whether any negative factors are present. Only in this way is it possible to be of benefit to basic units and cultivate the thinking of the leader. If a leader goes to a basic unit only

to listen to a report by the party committee or the administration and then discuss general matters, he does not make much of an impact. The effect is not different than changing the site of a meeting.

It is also necessary to encourage, arrange for and guide the masses in offering their opinions to the party and state concerning work policies, proposing constructive measures, inspecting the implementation of party directives and resolutions, inspecting the qualities of party members, bringing good persons and good work to light and denouncing negative phenomena as well as acts of opposition and sabotage. With the party being the party in power, the administration must, of course, employ compulsory, administrative measures. However, this does not mean that cadres and party members have permission to be bureaucratic, autocratic, arbitrary, dictatorial or arrogant toward the masses or to violate their right of ownership. Even in cases in which compulsory measures must be employed, these measures are only taken against persons who do not possess self-awareness or against elements engaged in opposition activities, not against the majority of the people.

The new style of work demands that we improve the quality and effectiveness of inspections. Because, inspections are an efficacious way to treat the maladies of bureaucracy, impracticality and remoteness from the masses. Inspections must focus first on compliance with the directives and resolutions of the party, compliance with party statutes and the qualities of party members. Inspections must be used to determine the correctness or incorrectness of positions and policies, bring new contradictions to light, develop upon positive factors and stop and correct negative phenomena. All levels and sectors must adopt specific regulations concerning inspection procedures and the procedures for conducting preliminary and final reviews in order to gain experience and correct the problems of being "all talk but no action" and "leaving things unfinished," which are mistakes that we have been making for many years.

4. As part of adopting a new style, we must also further intensify the practice of self-criticism and criticism.

Self-criticism and criticism are an effective weapon, are a law in the development of the party. In recent years, however, we have not given full attention to self-criticism and criticism. The quality of self-criticism and criticism has not been high. Their militancy has not been strong. Within the party, there are many signs that persons are indulging one another, doing things "for form's sake," avoiding one another and trying to "always be on the best of terms with others." At many places, the excuses of guaranteeing "unity" and "waiting for one another" have been taken as reasons for relaxing self-criticism and criticism. As a result, many negative phenomena have not been corrected. At some places, unity is one-sided, concessions not based on principles are made, discipline is not strict and the impact of education is very poor.

In the present situation, together with the other forms of struggle, self-criticism and criticism are a very good way to struggle against individualism, bureaucracy and other ills. Facts have clearly shown that, in many cases, it is easier to win victory over class enemies than over the internal enemy that is individualism. Uncle Ho pointed out that individualism is very clever and cunning. It is the origin of hundreds of dangerous maladies, such as the fear of hardships and difficulties; misappropriation, decadence, waste and extravagance; the desire for fame and wealth; a preference for a position of power; conceit and disregard for the collective, for the masses; being arbitrary, dictatorial and so forth. We must wage a determined struggle against individualism, against corruption, against special rights and privileges, against flatterers. One very important measure in accomplishing this is to further intensify the practice of self-criticism and criticism.

The virtue to be displayed in self-criticism and criticism is the virtue of loyalty. Objectivity and loyalty are lost if personal motives are allowed to intrude. The style to be displayed in self-criticism and criticism is balance between adherence to principle and the spirit of comradeship. We must combat individualism even while practicing self-criticism and criticism. We must oppose the attitude of making light of our own shortcomings while dwelling on the shortcomings of others and the attitude of embellishing one's own achievements while downplaying the achievements of others. There are also some comrades who appear to actively engage in self-criticism, who list their shortcomings but then give all sorts of objective reasons for their shortcomings and cleverly blame them on other persons and other levels. Self-criticism of this kind is meaningless and useless.

A serious attitude in self-criticism and criticism is displayed by courageously and squarely facing the truth, speaking the truth, correctly determining causes, adopting measures to rectify shortcomings and being determined to rectify shortcomings. Cadres on the upper level must set a good example first in order for self-criticism and criticism to be genuine. Uncle Ho taught: "In order for self-criticism and criticism to be successful, the cadres on all levels, particularly high ranking cadres, must set a good example first."⁽²⁾

The leader must be very alert and vigilant with himself, must not deceive himself and think that he is "immune" to negative phenomena. The challenges faced by a communist in peace time are also very stern because he must resolve the contradiction between revolutionary ethics and individualism and also must make very large sacrifices. He must even be vigilant against words of praise spoken about him. Praise can make him enthusiastic, can cause him to grow. However, it is also a very distinct possibility that praise will make him arrogant and degenerate. There is sincere praise (from genuine comrades) and there is insincere praise (from opportunists and flatterers). If the communist is not vigilant, the time when he is being praised the most might also be the time

when his thinking deteriorates. Because, when this time comes, it will be very easy for him to be taken with himself and consider himself better than everyone else! This is a painful lesson that has been learned in various places of the world.

In summary, correct self-criticism and criticism are the Leninist style, are the basis underlying the process of the party adopting the style of leadership and each of us adopting a style of work which yields practical and lasting results.

Footnotes

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, p 26.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "On Self-criticism and Criticism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 41.

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The Development of the Friendship and Special Cooperation Between Vietnam and Laos

42100012e Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 87 pp 25-28

[Unattributed article commemorating the 10 years of the Vietnam-Laos Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation (18 July 1977-18 July 1987)]

[Text] Joined by the imposing Truong Son Mountain Range, the two nations of Vietnam and Laos have been close for generations. Geography, fate and the common struggle against feudalism, against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists have tied the nations of Vietnam and Laos, as well as the nations of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, to one another, creating among them very pure and loyal fraternal and neighborly relations. The friendship and special cooperation between Vietnam and Laos were summarized by President Ho Chi Minh in the following immortal lines of poetry:

"The affection between our two countries of Vietnam and Laos runs deeper than the waters of the Red River, the Mekong River."

A new chapter in the relations between Vietnam and Laos was opened in 1975, when both countries won total victory in their long and fierce wars of liberation and decided to advance to socialism. The birth of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic opened enormous possibilities for strengthening the friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

To satisfy the aspirations and interests of the peoples of these two countries and the objective demands of the times, the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic was formally signed on

18 July 1977 in the capital Vientiane. This was an event of important significance in the history of Vietnam-Laos relations. It marked a stage of profound development of the fraternal feelings between the two countries and created new capabilities, new premises for raising the relations of friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and Laos to a new level based on Marxism-Leninism and noble proletarian internationalism. The signing of this treaty was also an expression and affirmation of the aspiration and determination of the two nations of Vietnam and Laos to always stand shoulder to shoulder with each other in labor and combat.

The rich and dynamic realities of the past 10 years have proven that the Vietnam-Laos Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation has played a large role of strategic significance. Through the implementation of its provisions, the tremendous potentials of the two countries have been tapped, have been used to augment each other in healing the wounds of war, restoring and developing the economy, strengthening national defense forces and firmly maintaining political security, social order and national sovereignty. To both nations, the past 10 years have been a special stage: each country has enjoyed basic advantages and each has experienced large difficulties. These advantages are: the peoples of the two countries, having experienced the bitter challenges of war, have gained experience in struggle and shown themselves to be dependable under all circumstances; the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party have been tempered and have gained much leadership experience and prestige; the sympathy, support and wholehearted assistance of progressive forces in the world, especially the socialist community, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union, have been won... The difficulties stem from the fact that the economies of both countries are very poor and backward and were ravaged by the war to the point of being crippled. Moreover, foreign and domestic reactionary powers have continued to oppose and attack the two countries in every way possible, including by means of such malicious tactics as attempting to create internal divisions within each country by threats and enticements and sabotaging and undermining the militant solidarity among the countries on the Indochina peninsula. However, the two nations of Vietnam and Laos have overcome everything, have stood firm and are moving ahead. Through the realities of the struggle against the cunning schemes of the enemy, the two nations have gained a better understanding of each other, grown closer together and further confirmed the need to always stand side by side.

Solidarity, consensus and close coordination are the source of the strength and effectiveness of the cooperation between Vietnam and Laos. During the past 10 years, despite certain complicating factors in the international and regional situations, the two parties and the two states of Vietnam and Laos have been in complete agreement concerning international questions, have coordinated their diplomatic struggles and have made many proposals that conform with both reason and

sentiment with a view toward safeguarding peace, maintaining security and truly encouraging cooperation within Southeast Asia. In economic cooperation, Vietnam and Laos have augmented and assisted one another and achieved large results through the implementation of specific contracts to discover and develop the potentials of the two countries. In this field, Vietnam and Laos have performed a number of jobs that have produced economic returns and also helped to strengthen the friendship between the two countries. For example, Vietnam, which is experienced in the cultivation of wet rice, sent engineers to work with Lao friends on the hybridization of new rice varieties. Following a period of research, the collective of Lao-Viet engineers at the Salakham Seed Farm developed a number of new rice varieties compatible with the farming conditions of Laos and have helped places using these new varieties raise their yields from 1.7 to 4 tons per hectare. In their cooperation in the field of forestry, Laos and Vietnam have been harvesting timber in the forests of Laos and exporting through seaports of Vietnam. At the same time, the two countries have exchanged experience, formulated optimum plans and selected suitable species of trees in order to rebuild and develop the forests in the territories of both countries. Units of highly qualified and experienced Vietnamese bridge and road construction workers have gone to Laos and coordinated with our friends there to build bridges and roads to assist the Lao and to exchange knowledge and experience so that our Lao friends can design and construct large bridges on their own throughout their country in the not too distant future. The assistance provided to each other in the training of cultural and scientific-technical cadres has produced many fine results. In recent years, not only has Vietnam trained cadres for Laos, but Laos has also trained hundreds of cadres for Vietnam in the fields of language, art and so forth.

By closely cooperating with each other, each country can also expand and diversify its economy. One specific example is that although it has no coastline, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has a fleet of commercial vessels operating at sea because fraternal Vietnam, which has 3,000 km of coastline and many seaports, has been, is and will be ready to create favorable conditions for the commercial fleet of Laos to develop. The friendship and cooperative relations between Vietnam and Laos were broadened further when the two parties and two governments agreed for the capital Hanoi to establish a brotherhood with the capital Vientiane and other provinces of Vietnam to establish brotherhoods with provinces of Laos. This has enabled local administrations of the two countries to display initiative and creativity in enhancing and increasing the results produced by the relations between the two countries. Recently, one of the beautiful expressions of the friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and Laos was the work performed by Vietnamese specialists and Lao cadres and workers to complete the expansion of Lao Central Radio and increase its power 10-fold to support the propaganda campaign surrounding the 1st Congress

of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party in November 1986. A large volume of complex work involving the transportation of equipment mainly from Ho Chi Minh City to the capital Vientiane was completed in slightly more than 1 week. Anyone witnessing this intense, urgent and interesting work would have perceived the sincere, warm feelings which the two nations have for each other through specific persons coordinating on a specific job filled with creativity and tremendous political significance.

During the past 10 years, fraternal Laos has recorded encouraging achievements: the gross social product has doubled; income per capita has increased 60 percent; industrial production has increased 4.4 times; agricultural production has doubled; grain output per capita reached 380 kilograms in 1985... Strong progress has been made in the fields of culture, public health and education. Political security and social order have been firmly maintained. The international prestige of Laos has steadily risen. The Lao People's Democratic Republic is a member of the United Nations, of the Non-aligned Movement and of many other international organizations. Laos has diplomatic relations with 66 countries of the world.

The party, government and people of Vietnam feel joy and pride over the large achievements of the fraternal people of Laos—our staunch and very loyal comrades-in-arms. As Laos has grown in strength, the friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and Laos as well as among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have become closer and more productive. The potentials of the special Vietnam-Laos relations are exceedingly large. In the new situation, the two parties, the two states and the two nations are making every effort to develop these potentials in order to accelerate socialist construction within each country. In a spirit of serious self-criticism, we admit that we have failed to make full use of the enormous potentials of these special relations in recent years. The plans for economic cooperation with Laos have been impractical in some respects and have not produced the desired results. At times, these plans have been affected by state subsidies and been marked by a lack of thorough accountability. The steps taken to apply the experience of our friends as well as disseminate experience to them have, at times, not been consistent with specific circumstances. At certain times and places, the Vietnamese side has displayed shortcomings. For example, we have sent over specialists who do not meet the requirements of our friends; some provinces which have established economic relations for the purpose of harvesting timber with our friends have not given their full attention to plans for working with our friends to bring about the development and regrowth of forests, etc.

Recognizing our shortcomings, we are determined to correct them with a view toward taking a new step in the development of the special relations between Vietnam and Laos and achieving a new level of quality and

effectiveness. In the face of the demands of our times for change—an urgent demand of an historical nature faced by the entire socialist system—our two nations of Vietnam and Laos will adopt a new way of thinking and working, will fully mobilize the capabilities of both nations and work together to make full use of the assistance provided by the socialist community—most importantly by the Soviet Union—and other friendly countries in order to win increasingly large victories in the cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland.

We are celebrating the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Vietnam-Laos Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation against the background of fundamental changes in the international situation, in general, and the regional situation, in particular, changes that are advantageous to the cause of revolution of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina. At the same time, we also recognize that the process of overcoming the difficulties being faced will continue to be an arduous and complex process. In addition, it is also necessary to be prepared to effectively deal with the international reactionary forces that are scheming to weaken the militant alliance and solidarity among the three countries. At present, each country on the Indochina peninsula is actively implementing the resolution of its party in keeping with the spirit of change and is preparing for the second high level conference of the three countries of Indochina, which will surely create a new position and new forces so that we can advance the revolution.

In the face of the countless major events that have occurred in their history, in the face of the many bitter challenges of the struggle for independence, democracy, progress and justice, the three nations and the Indochina peninsula have always stood beside one another and deeply understood that the strong militant solidarity, the close, pure and loyal friendship and the cooperation in every field among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, all of which are based on Marxism-Leninism and noble proletarian internationalism, are priceless assets, are vital interests, are sacred demands of the three nations, are the laws of the development and survival of the revolution of each country. At the same time, they are one of the factors guaranteeing victory in the struggle for peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia. Therefore, the militant alliance and solidarity, the warm friendship and the cooperation in every field among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia will remain forever vibrant and strong and cannot be undermined by any force, regardless of how cruel and cunning it might be.

The special relations among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and the peaceful and friendly borders these three countries share today are a model of splendid neighborly relations among states and nations which share a common border. Building peaceful and friendly borders and establishing close neighborly relations are trends of our times. Sharing as they do a common border with China, both Vietnam and Laos want to improve their relations

with China, want to turn the Laos-China border as well as the Vietnam-China border into borders of peace, friendship and cooperation. This would not only serve the interests of the people of each country, but would also contribute to safeguarding peace and encouraging international cooperation within the region.

International cooperation within the socialist community is entering a stage of development which is qualitatively new, a more dynamic and practical stage, a stage marked by greater equality and results. Together with the development of the friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and Laos and among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, our three nations are determined to expand their relations of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union, thereby helping to build the strength of the socialist community.

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Concerning the Newspaper Articles of N.V.L.

42100012f Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 87 pp 29-31

[Unattributed article]

[Text] For more than 1 month, the party's NHAN DAN Newspaper has been carrying a series of articles by N.V.L. [Nguyen Van Linh] criticizing the negative phenomena in our country's economic and social life. These articles express the party's determination to overcome the ugly phenomena that are impeding the progress of society; express stern demands upon the leadership cadres of all levels and sectors, all localities and basic units, particularly those in sectors which control many of the country's assets and those sectors whose function it is to enforce state law; express confidence in the press and a demand that the press fulfill its responsibility in the struggle against negative phenomena; and, in particular, express boundless confidence in the great strength of the people in this struggle. For these reasons, these articles have been and are receiving widespread support among large numbers of our cadres, party members and people.

From the articles of N.V.L. one point emerges: the struggle against negative phenomena must be brought into the open with the aim of making full use of the great power of the press and public opinion in keeping with the spirit of the important lesson that we "make the people the base" (of course, we should not understand openness on the part of the press as never being in contradiction with the need to preserve national secrets, which is something that each journalist must do).

Practical experience has proven that without the strong pressure of public opinion (exerted through the activities of the press), the struggle against negative phenomena being led by our party cannot win victory. In fact, it would be nothing but an illusion for us to wait for a methodical and serious "self-consciousness" to emerge

among those who steal socialist property, those who abuse their public positions to engage in misappropriation, take bribes and conspire with undesirable elements in society to do many things that are wrong, those who have degenerated and become deviant to the point where they have turned into "revolutionary officials" who oppress the people, intimidate the masses, ruthlessly suppress and retaliate against persons who denounce them and use the items they steal to live a life of luxury and decadence! Only by employing the strong press, the masses as expressed in practical activities and in the press (the broadest public forum) to support the legal agencies of the state and wage struggle against negative phenomena under the control and determined leadership of the party can we hope to win victory over these "parasites" upon society.

The following point is also made by N.V.L.: we must use the combined strength of the proletarian dictatorship system (which includes the organizations of the party, state agencies and the mass organizations) to victoriously wage the struggle against negative phenomena, against those who do wrong and inflict major harm upon the interests of the fatherland and the people.

To the party and state, N.V.L. writes: "The party and state are determined to purify and heighten the spirit of responsibility of the corps of cadres." "The leaders on all levels must set good examples, must keep themselves pure and not be bureaucratic or form factions in order to bring the fullest possible prestige and seriousness to their work." He also writes: our party and state do not permit any individual or collective "to stand outside the scope of our law and order."

He calls on legal agencies to "bring to light cases involving major mistakes in order to harshly punish those who commit these mistakes and then clearly report the results to organizations of the press so that the people are informed."

To agencies that have jurisdiction, he suggests that they "investigate and harshly punish persons who cause losses... and then present a report on the matter in the paper." He also says: "It is necessary to keep abreast of the things brought to light by the people and the press, take quick action and then inform the people of the action taken."

To the people and the press, he writes: "The masses must have a movement to denounce even some cadres and agencies that do wrong." "Propaganda agencies must report and denounce the wrong being done, must name those individuals, agencies and organizations that do things contrary to the policies of the party and state." "The people and information organizations must continue to bring things to light and observe developments in order to assist legal and other responsible agencies in investigating and prosecuting each case quickly, accurately and thoroughly."

Thus, the basic measures guaranteeing victory in the struggle against negative phenomena have been set forth. And, gratifying is the fact that the newspaper articles of N.V.L. have also given this struggle new momentum.

However, we must also see the very large difficulties that we continue to face. And, the struggle against negative phenomena will be a very complex, fierce and long struggle. It will be complex because the targets of the struggle are of many different types and include conspirators between degenerate and deviant elements within agencies of the party and state and undesirable elements, speculators, black marketeers and thieves in society. This is not to mention that in some cases, there is also involvement by the enemy. In addition, we must also be mindful of distinguishing between those who intentionally and seriously violate the law and persons who are law-abiding for the most part but who, for one reason or another, violate a number of principles or laws of the state.

This struggle will be fierce because it is certain to meet with resistance and sometimes even an insane counter-attack by persons who should have been put "in the rock house" long ago but who still remain at large "on the outside" as a result of using their power to suppress certain persons, using their money to buy others off. Moreover, they are still protected by rather large "umbrellas."

This struggle will be long because negative phenomena still have a social base in our country (which is only in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism). Moreover, the vestiges of ugly thinking will persist far beyond the enormous changes occurring in the economic and political fields.

The above demands that each progressive, revolutionary force of the country display a higher sense of responsibility and be alert, resolute and courageous in this struggle.

The same applies to the press. In addition to heightening their sense of social responsibility, our journalists must also bring to this fierce and complex struggle a spirit of bravery and a scientific attitude. We should not fear retaliation of any kind because we clearly see what our sacred mission is in this fight to defend the truth. Moreover, we have confidence in the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh, confidence in the support and assistance of the people, confidence in the sense of justice and the conscience of man. We will also adopt an objective and scientific attitude in the face of each case and incident that occurs and not allow the distorted and slanderous opinions of bad persons within agencies of the state and among the people to cause "interference" and distort the perceptions of journalists in their attention to get to the bottom of things. To insure the accuracy of newspaper articles, our journalists must closely coordinate with the legal agencies of the state.

listen to the opinions of many different persons and, on this basis, filter out "the truth." They must investigate and research matters in a style that is both serious and cautious. The more effective the press is and the greater the power of public opinion becomes, the more our journalists must display their spirit of responsibility in order to guarantee the honesty of the press, guarantee the accuracy of newspaper articles and, in this way, exert a large impact upon life. Another very important requirement is that our press must place itself strictly under the leadership of the party. At the same time, it is our hope that the various party committee echelons and the leaders within the agencies of the state, from the central to the basic levels, will concern themselves with providing guidance and wholehearted support, encourage and protect genuine journalists who are struggling with no regard for themselves for the truth, for the victory of the struggle against negative phenomena. This struggle is truly a stern test of each organization, of each individual in our society, regardless of the individual's job position.

In this way, our press will exert an increasingly large impact in the cause of revolution, in general, and in the struggle against negative phenomena, in particular, thus proving itself worthy of the trust of the party and the people.

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How Can We Create the Reserves We Need To Stabilize and Develop Agriculture in Our Country?
42100012g Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 87 pp 32-36

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Bang]

[Text] To meet the essential grain and food needs of all society in a stable manner, it is necessary to have grain and food reserves.

1. Establishing Reserves By Actively Taking Preventive Measures

In countries in which the quantity of grain and food produced each year is in excess of the needs of society, it is not at all difficult to solve the problem of establishing grain and food reserves. Perhaps the only things they need to discuss are better ways of mobilizing reserves and better techniques of stockpiling and storing grain and food. In our country, despite many efforts on our part, we have yet to achieve a workable solution to the problem of grain and food products. Even in years in which the weather and climate have been relatively favorable for agricultural production, we have only managed to reach the threshold between a shortage of food and temporary sufficiency.

If 5-year plans are implemented well, we might be able to take the initiative and import grain as a preventive measure instead of continuing to always be caught

unprepared. However, there are limitations to this approach also, because, we do not have much foreign currency to set aside for the establishment of grain reserves.

2. Practicing Economy and Providing Good Storage in Order To Establish Reserves

From the conclusions presented above, we see that the grain we produce annually continues to be the primary source of any reserves. Despite the fact that difficulties are still being encountered nationwide meeting society's need for grain, many places are using paddy and rice in a very wasteful manner, such as using paddy and rice to raise livestock, make liquor, etc. It is necessary to generate widespread public opinion condemning the use of rice to make bootleg liquor. At the same time, we must introduce a law prohibiting the making of liquor from rice and must harshly punish anyone who violates this law. Moreover, the state must maintain a monopoly in the production and business in all types of alcoholic beverages in order to maintain security and social safety and eventually eradicate the ills caused by these "poisons." To do this, it is first of all necessary to enact laws. At the same time, the state must organize the wholesale and retail sales networks nationwide, all the way down to each village, subward and hamlet, to meet the needs of the people for liquor (for death anniversaries, tet celebrations, medicinal purposes, etc.). Concerning this matter, our state possesses all the conditions and means it needs to provide good management and will certainly have the support of the masses. Measures, even very uncivilized measures, as Lenin once said, must be taken to punish uncivilized behavior, such as using paddy and rice to make liquor.

Administrative measures clearly cannot be used to put an end to the practice of using paddy and rice to raise livestock. The state must organize the processing of livestock feed (from corn, dried peanuts, dried beans mixed with fish meal and other protein-rich ingredients) and supply it to lowland areas in exchange for paddy and rice. If traded at the rate of 1 kilogram of protein-rich livestock feed for 1 kilogram of rice, both the state and farmers will benefit. Then, farmers will not be so foolish as to use paddy and rice to raise livestock.

Thus, if we adopt plans for successfully solving the two problems discussed above, the significant quantity of grain saved each year will augment grain reserves.

In addition, we have given virtually no attention to investing in the storage of grain, even though the quantity of grain lost each year to moisture, mold, lizards, worms and so forth is quite large. If we include the losses caused by the decline in the quality of grain, the losses caused by poor storage might exceed 10 percent, that is, a few million tons of grain annually (there are many who think that this figure is actually much higher).

It should be remembered that to increase the output of grain by this amount each year, we must either invest in increasing the amount of area under cultivation by millions of hectares (during the past 10 years, although we have invested much money and effort, the area under the cultivation of rice has only increased by less than one-half million hectares) or invest in intensive cultivation in order to raise rice yields on all land under cultivation at the rate of 12 percent per year, that is, at a rate many times higher than the average rate achieved over the past 10 years. To implement the two plans mentioned above or combine these two plans requires major investments, investments which far exceed the capabilities of our country's economy in the years ahead. In addition, attention must be given to the fact that during the years of shortest supply, we have had to import about a few million tons of grain to resolve difficulties at home. Therefore, the figure presented concerning the quantity of grain wasted each year due to poor storage is a very significant figure. It tells us that we cannot continue to give light attention to the storage of grain.

Thus, if we adopt a rational investment strategy with the aim of eliminating the waste of grain caused by poor storage and not just make empty appeals as we have long been doing, we will be able to create grain reserves from internal sources without having to invest much more in agriculture.

3. Establishing Reserves by Promoting the Use of Insurance

One matter of no less importance is mobilizing grain reserves in such a way that farmers are glad to produce much grain and voluntarily contribute to the national grain reserve.

In the case of an agriculture which is still very heavily dependent upon natural factors and undergoes sharp changes from one year to the next, the basic principles of cybernetics tell us that to promptly overcome the consequences of changes in unstable processes, it is necessary to put in place a self-adjusting mechanism, the effect of which is inversely proportional to these changes. One such mechanism that deserves our attention is insurance organizations. Because, they can create national reserves through voluntary contributions by farmers with the aim of promptly overcoming the consequences of changes that occur, thereby helping to rapidly stabilize the production and the living conditions of farmers.

From a methodological standpoint, it is necessary to clarify the difference between the crop insurance policy and the "war time communism" grain mobilization policy, which still persists today in many different forms and which we continue to apply in practice.

As Lenin observed: "Under this peculiar war time communism, we actually took from the peasant all his surpluses—and sometimes even a part of his necessities—to meet the requirements of the army and sustain workers. Most of it we took on loan, for paper money."⁽¹⁾

In our country today, in addition to agricultural taxes, the state still assigns to cooperatives too many norms, which are usually only based on the procurement requirements of the state. Moreover, following each production season, the state also assigns a norm on the total amount of grain and other products to be mobilized, which is always "higher this year than last" and based on prices which, although called "negotiated" prices, are generally not high enough to compensate for all the costs incurred by farmers because everything they need for production and everyday life must be bought at high prices on the free market. Despite this, procurement agencies usually only issue receipts to farmers and sometimes do not pay them until years later. Through this style of procurements, due to the fact that farmers are forced to accept prices and due to the continuous devaluation of the dong, the state or agencies acting in the name of the state have not received 1 percent of the grain or other products which farmers should sell to the state after fulfilling their tax obligation. Thus, it is clear that we continue to maintain a "war time communism" grain mobilization policy, a "peculiar form of communism which was forced on us by extreme want, ruin and war."⁽²⁾ And, as Lenin stated: "It is not, and cannot be, a policy that corresponds to the economic tasks of the proletariat."⁽³⁾

At present, we face many difficulties and a sharp imbalance between supply and demand. The state must have much grain and food to supply to the tens of millions of wage earners and dependents, must have many raw materials and building materials to maintain and develop industry and for exportation. The smartest way to control these products is to abandon the outmoded policy described above once and for all and take the path of normal trade with farmers, that is to truly respect and give appropriate attention to their legitimate interests, to encourage and provide incentive for them to produce many agricultural products for sale to the state at "truly negotiated prices" and not apply any form of pressure to farmers. It has come time, in the words of Lenin, for the state to learn how to engage in trade so that industry satisfies the needs of farmers and farmers, through commerce, satisfy their own needs.

Each year, our state has about 1.5 million tons of nitrogen fertilizer and many other items with which to trade with farmers. On the basis of the principle of trade at price parity (1 kilogram of nitrogen fertilizer in exchange for 2 kilograms of paddy), the state should procure at least 3 million tons of grain, in paddy equivalent. Were this amount added to agricultural taxes (roughly 1 million tons of grain, in paddy equivalent), it would no longer be as difficult to supply grain to wage

earnings and dependents as it has been for many years! However, due to the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and due to the lack of strict discipline and laws, agricultural supplies have been lost through many elements and organizations, farmers have had to buy everything on the free market and the state has suffered revenue losses. One question which arises in the face of this situation is: should we adopt a new mode of supplying agricultural materials in order to put an end to this disorder or should we look for every way to mobilize grain in order to compensate for the losses being caused by poor management? I should think that the answer to this question is apparent. We can no longer continue to operate on the basis of the old way of thinking because the inevitable result will be farmers who are not motivated to produce, who only produce enough to eat and contribute little to the state. This would mean that we would continue to push our country's agriculture back to a state of subsistence and the monoculture of grain.

In contrast to the "war time communism" grain mobilization policy and under the conditions of unstable agricultural production, the crop and livestock insurance policy expresses, above everything else, the concern of the state for protecting the fruits of the labor of farmers, protecting their legitimate interests in cases of misfortune brought on by natural disasters or pests and, on this basis, upholding the interests of all society. This policy lays the foundation for fair relations between the state and farmers from the standpoint of interests and creates the premises needed to gradually dismantle the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies in agricultural production.

In actuality, no individual farmer, no individual cooperative and not even an individual locality is capable of effectively dealing with the natural disasters and pests that regularly affect agricultural production in our country. To do this, the state must mobilize the combined strength of the entire national economy, must have capital to invest in equipment and measures for the prevention and control of crop pests and livestock diseases and must have strategic reserves and stockpiles with which to promptly deal with emergency situations that might occur and rapidly compensate farmers for losses in order to stabilize their production and living conditions. As a result, farmers must have the obligation of contributing to the various insurance funds of the state. At the same time, they must be conscious of the need to make economical and rational use of the products they themselves produce.

Crop and livestock insurance, which began in Kien An District in Haiphong and Dien Ban District in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province spontaneously as a local initiative and has spread to many districts nationwide. This shows that farmers have enthusiastically responded to this policy. And, in our thinking, crop and livestock insurance combined with economic leverage policies

(reasonable prices, fair procurements...) have brought about strong and steady changes in agricultural production in the localities mentioned above.

Thus, crop and livestock insurance has become a very pressing need. One question that must be asked is: how should agricultural insurance be organized on a nationwide basis? Where is it best to place this organization, within the Ministry of Finance or within the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry?

In our opinion, the livestock insurance unit should be moved from the Vietnam Insurance Corporation (under the Ministry of Finance) and merged with the Crop Protection Department (of the former Ministry of Agriculture) in order to immediately establish a Vietnam Agricultural Insurance General Corporation and place it under the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry. Under this general corporation, regional agricultural insurance corporations should be established (the best approach would be to correspond with economic zoning). Under these regional corporations, district agricultural insurance branches should be established.

Whereas the technical service corporations on the district level (the seed corporations, crop and livestock protection corporations and so forth) operate on the tactical level (working closely with agricultural cooperatives to adopt integrated pest prevention and control measures, organize the crop and livestock protection network and promptly develop plans for extinguishing outbreaks of crop pests and livestock diseases) with the aim of reducing the losses suffered in agricultural production to the lowest possible level, the insurance organizations must operate on the strategic level with the following objectives:

- a. Using strategic reserves of equipment and technical materials to support the technical service corporations in the districts by making investments in advance or emergency investments when natural disasters or epidemics occur within their area of operation.
- b. Creating reserves through the turnover of self-acquired capital contributed by farmers through insurance fees in order to be able to promptly compensate for the losses of farmers when natural disasters and epidemics occur with the aim of helping to rapidly stabilize the production and living conditions of farmers.

Insurance organizations must make maintaining the stability and stimulating the development of agricultural production in our country the main objective of their activities and must operate on the basis of accounting and socialist business practices through economic contracts. As regards insurance fees, as long as prices remain unstable, fees should be calculated as a percentage of crop output or the weight of livestock and collected in money or product. Of course, there is also a need to conduct research for the purpose of more clearly defining the functions and tasks of insurance organizations and

technical service organizations and define the limits to their activities and how they should cooperate in order to achieve a combined strength to help stimulate the development of agriculture.

Their thinking being the small-scale producer's thinking of the "heart" that "the fortunate come to the assistance of the unfortunate" in times of adversity and accustomed, as a result of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, to "relying upon" and "waiting for" the state to act, our people are not, generally speaking, familiar with the various forms of insurance. Therefore, a greater propaganda effort must be made to teach the significance and importance of insurance organizations and clarify their function and role. Through the practical activities of these organizations, we can gradually establish the "insurance habit," that is, the habit of "fair practices" between the state and farmers in insurance and break the habits of farmers "relying upon" the state and organizations which represent the state thinking that they are "doing a favor" for farmers.

Thus, providing crop and livestock insurance in agricultural production in our country must be considered a task of a strategic nature as we advance to large-scale, socialist production. Through the various forms of insurance, it is possible to limit the losses incurred in agricultural production to the lowest possible level and help to create very important national reserves so that the state can rapidly stabilize the production and living conditions of farmers when natural disasters affect crops or when epidemics strike livestock herds.

In summary, although our country's economy is still encountering many difficulties and we cannot demand that major investments be made in agriculture in the foreseeable future, if we know how to organize and manage, there are still many ways to create the necessary reserves, particularly grain reserves, in order to stabilize production and meet the essential needs of the people fully and promptly.

Footnotes

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 43, p. 264.

2. Ibid., p. 264.

3. Ibid., p. 265.

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The Quality of Art and the Social Returns from Cultural, Literary and Art Activities

42100012h Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 87 pp 37-42

[Article by Tran Do]

[Text] The Political Report of the Central Committee at the party's 6th National Congress of Delegates stated: "The quality of work in the fields of culture, literature

and art must be improved. Every cultural, literary and art activity must be conducted with consideration given to the social returns from this activity, must exert a good impact upon the thinking, attitudes and feelings of the people and must raise their level of socialist awareness and their aesthetic standards. Attention must be given to satisfying the wholesome needs and tastes of the various strata of society and the different age groups."(1)

Ordinarily, when the subject at hand is the quality of art, thought immediately turns to the quality of a specific work of art. And, when the subject is a work of art, attention immediately focuses on its ideological theme and political content. This approach, while not entirely incorrect, is not comprehensive or complete.

In actuality, an art activity is a process, one which begins with the creation of a work of art by an artist. The work is personalized by means of widespread dissemination among the public through such means of communication as printing in book form, being broadcast over radio and television, being exhibited or performed for the public... These are the channels by which a work reaches the public. The public experiences the work and gives its evaluation, as a result of which the artist modifies his works to suit the needs and tastes of the public. The artist's work, the channels of communication and the public are three factors that are closely connected within a closed cycle. This cycle is called the art activity. To evaluate the quality of an art activity, it is necessary to simultaneously examine all three of these factors. This evaluation is incomplete if any one of these factors is ignored.

Let us begin by examining the artist's work, because this is the most important factor:

A work of art is a combination of ideological content and form of expression, which is commonly called the art form. If the ideological content is good but the art form itself is mediocre, a good work of art cannot be produced. When talking about art, we are talking about the new, about the uniqueness of the language employed in the development of artistic images. If its language is unpolished and the images are vague, a work of art lacks the force needed to convey good thinking to the public. A person readily takes offense when the contents of a work of art are blatantly didactic. In the life of society, education plays an exceedingly important role. It helps to mold a person's character. However, there is one peculiar characteristic of the education of adults and educated youths that is very deserving of attention. Adults have reached a mature level of psychological and physiological development. They have acquired broad life experience. Their objectives, views, ideals, tendencies and inspirations regarding life are relatively stable. They have an established occupation. In summary, they are individuals whose character has been formed. Therefore, when they come into contact with art, adults usually want the artist to offer them suggestions or advice on how to improve their character. In other words, they

have a need for self-education. A blatantly didactic work of art is not compatible with the psychology of adults or educated youths. The richer a work's ideological contents is, the more it is embedded in many different layers of meaning, thus compelling the reader, viewer or listener to delve deeply into the work to gain a full understanding of it, the greater the work's educational impact is.

A work of art is like a battery, but one in which the object being stored is cultural values of mankind. In order for this battery to emit light, it must be connected to a lighting system. In other words, the work must reach the public in order for its values to exert an impact, that is, in order for it to yield social returns. This is the factor of the appreciation of art by the public. The appreciation of art is not an isolated action divorced from the character of society. It is part of the life experience—the cultural experience—of the person who appreciates a work of art. The appreciation of art causes changes in the consciousness of a person, in his relationship with objective reality. In other words, a work of art is capable of capturing the emotions and the consciousness of a person and guiding this person in selecting ways of behaving that are consistent with social progress.

In actuality, some persons who attend a play sit with tears streaming down their cheeks while others rock with laughter. Clearly, the appreciation of art is closely tied to the psychological-historical circumstances of the reader, viewer or listener. Some persons view art simply for the purpose of criticizing it, to show that they know as much as the artist. Conversely, children approach art simply to enjoy, not criticize, it. Then, there are also persons who look at art and hesitate, who do not know what to say or do not dare say anything because they are afraid of being laughed at or being called wrong. The most correct attitude to take toward a work of art is to both appreciate and criticize it, criticize it so that one's appreciation is deepened and, as a result, the quality of art is seen.

Appreciating art also requires detailed study and training. Study is necessary to learn the peculiar characteristics of the language and structure of each genre of art. Training entails regularly putting oneself in touch with art, hearing, seeing and reading much, reading works of art and even critiques of these works and thus raising one's level of appreciation to the level of the writer. Such study and training are also required with the audio-visual arts.

In one sense, art can be viewed as a language. There are separate principles of word structure and syntax for each genre of art. To "read" a work of art, one must know these principles. Therefore, studying and learning how to appreciate art are similar to learning a language. It is as difficult to accept a new word as it is to become familiar with a new friend. But this familiarity comes as time passes. A person must persist in this relationship until the time when he becomes its master, that is, the master of how to evaluate a work of art.

Today, society is achieving an increasingly sophisticated and deep specialization of labor. This division of labor has led to the division of the art public into different groups based on occupation and age. Intellectuals in the cities can still enjoy symphonic music while laborers who prefer popular tunes can still relax and relieve their tensions by them.

Long ago, when three or four generations lived together in the same house, they would all relax together by attending evening performances of popular opera during rousing village festivals. Today, problems can arise when a grandfather and grandchild sit down to watch TV together. The grandfather might want to enjoy the melodious sounds of popular opera but the grandchild might want to immediately switch the channel to light music. Or, when watching a segment of a combat film together, the grandfather might recall, with a troubled feeling, the heroic spirit of bygone days when they carried broadswords or think back to the days when he marched from one end of the country to the other in pursuit of the enemy. The grandchild, on the other hand, might be inclined to imitate the actions of the persons in the film and pick up an object to use as a gun, pretending to be shooting at everyone. If the grandfather reprimands him, he immediately begins shooting his grandfather and then laughs.

When viewing a masterpiece of a nude, some persons will see it as reflecting the beauty made by the creator and achieve a feeling of serenity and nobility of the soul. Other persons, however, will only experience the base aspects of art appreciation filled with sexual desires. Works of art, as is often said, are the spiritual food of man. This food can only be "good tasting" when it is compatible with the tastes of each viewer, reader or listener, with the level of art appreciation of each age group.

The quality of art is also dependent upon the quality of the channel of communication, that is, the means by which the values encompassed within a work are conveyed to the public. Readers have little interest in a book which, although written well, is printed on dark paper in very small type and with many mistakes. And, it makes no difference whether the music being listened to is good or poor if the room in which one is sitting is noisy and the equipment being used causes much static.

In the art activities being conducted today, we are also taking a very lax approach from the perspective of how art performances are organized. Art cannot be successfully appreciated in crowded theaters, in noisy, dirty movie halls with broken seats. Shortcomings in the way that art performances are organized cause a lackadaisical attitude in the appreciation of art. If an audience comes to a theater with an attitude that they are attending an "outdoor market," art will not be cultivated. Art's function will be diminished, thereby not only causing harm to art activities, but also helping to create an unwholesome way of life in society. Admittedly, the material

basis provided for art activities are still underdeveloped. However, if the agencies which organize performances were to concern themselves with creating a serious environment for the presentation of works of art, many shortcomings would surely be corrected.

In summary, the quality of art is the quality of the three factors of the art activity process: the creativity of the artist, the channel of communication and the public who experiences the work. These three factors are very closely interconnected. Neglecting any one of these factors has an adverse impact upon the entire art process. A work of art has a profound impact upon the public, that is, yields positive social returns, when the work itself is good, the means of communication are good and art is presented to the public in a manner consistent with their tastes and level of appreciation.

Today, when conducting cultural or art activities, light attention cannot be given to economic efficiency. Economic efficiency must be taken into account in everything from organizing a scientific seminar to introducing a new book, newspaper, play or film or organizing a festival. Here, economic efficiency does not simply mean business revenues, but also means organizing things in an efficient way and using personnel, talents and material forces in a rational manner that yields optimum results. Even in the case of those art activities which do not generate large revenues and usually must be subsidized, economic efficiency is still a consideration. When a good play, a good film or a new novel attracts the attention of large numbers of the public, is widely distributed and is even exported to other countries, the revenues generated by the work are large. In such cases, economic returns are consistent with and directly proportional to social returns. However, the economic returns and social returns from art are not always directly proportional.

The problem we face is: in the current ideological and cultural revolution, we are struggling to establish the new value system, to criticize and eliminate non-socialist values. In this bitter struggle, besides genuine works of art that are supported by progressive segments of the public, there are still some fraudulent works of art that are being supported by backward segments of the public. Therefore, when we see that a play is popular, we must first look to see among which segments of the public it is popular and determine why it is acclaimed by them. Only after such careful examination is it possible to make an evaluation of the play's social returns.

Concerning social returns, we cannot ignore the so called immediate returns and long-range returns from art. Attention should not only be given to immediate returns, to the desire for a work of art to exert an immediate impact upon military inductions, the collection of taxes, the construction of water conservancy projects and so forth, to the desire for a work of art to provide immediate inspiration. Although art does have the task of helping to build the spirit and consciousness

of the people, of encouraging and inspiring them to overcome difficulties and move ahead to fulfill each social obligation, it is not in keeping with the character of art to turn a work of art into a motivational tool.

Actually, the impact of art is a long-range, gradual impact, one which takes many directions and exists on many different planes, all of which combine to create social returns, that is, to mold character. The social returns from art activities are the extent of their impact upon the spirit, upon the soul of the viewer, reader or listener, are the force that creates feelings of joy, creates humanitarian motives filled with love for one's fellow man, creates a beautiful spiritual state, brings much pleasure and so forth. If art activities are continuously conducted on a long-range basis, the effects described above will accumulate in those who appreciate art, creating within them a stable and noble spiritual and ethical state of being, will build for man a beautiful spiritual world and will mold people who possess an increasingly beautiful character.

The responsibility of the managers of cultural work and of artists and performers is to give thought to the public (the reader, viewer or listener) and gain an understanding of the wholesome needs and tastes of the public. They must try to orient their creative aspiration and their organizational responsibility toward the public in a way compatible with the public's spiritual state of being. To elevate the public, there must be more than subjective aspiration, more than merely giving expression to subjective inspiration, even though it is very necessary to respect the inspiration of the artist. The genuine artist is one whose inspiration is identical to the inspiration that moves the public, whose inspiration stems from the genuine inspiration of the people.

The manager of cultural work absolutely may not use material difficulties as an excuse for taking a convenient, lax approach in organizing art activities. This approach shows a lack of regard for the public and is irresponsible.

In this area, in order to give consideration to and create positive, beautiful social returns, it is also necessary to practice the thinking "make the people the base."

The above is an analysis of the positive impact of genuine art. But mention should also be made of the negative impact of fake art, of bad works of art. A work of art which is ugly in terms of its ideological content but polished and sophisticated in its form can deceive the public. It slowly undermines and poisons the process of molding character and helps to create disorder in our new way of life. Many experiments have shown that an environment of loud rock and roll music psychologically impairs small children who live within this environment.

Thus, the social returns from art are twofold: positive returns and negative returns. The enemy gives very much attention to the negative returns from art. They routinely use works of art as a sophisticated tool for undermining the pure thoughts and feelings of the people.

To insure that the returns from art are positive, full attention must be given to the factor of organizing the public. Recently, performances have been allowed to be presented at some places without any effort to organize them. Companies have been performing wherever they want and loudly advertise their performances in any way they please, as a result of which works of art usually do not find sincere supporters, that is, progressive segments of the public. Instead, persons who have much money to buy tickets, persons whose tastes run to the ordinary occupy all the seats in the theater. They spend their money on tickets to support the theater and praise or criticize performances on the basis of their base needs and their backward tastes. As a result, the quality of art is diminished and the social returns from art are, of course, limited.

In practical terms, every theater needs a public. The public is the reason for the existence of a theater. But if we do not know how to organize the public well, if we do not take measures to guide and direct the public, backward segments of the public will take control and art activities will veer from our orb. Therefore, it is an urgent necessity for cultural management cadres to step forward and organize the public for art. A profitable theater which maintains the quality of art is one that generates positive social returns.

To organize the public, it is necessary to understand the situation as it relates to the public, to know the structure and distribution of the population and to categorize the nature and living conditions, the needs and tastes of the different population groups. Only by understanding and analyzing the population is it possible to know which art form, which work of art, which show and which genre of art should be introduced to which segment of the public. Information must be made widely available on a regular basis (advertising) so that each group of the population knows in advance what the programs and plans for performances and activities are and persons can set aside time and money to attend. The best approach is for art units and mass organizations to contact and assist each other.

In the final analysis, the work of art is the most decisive factor in the creation of positive social returns. To produce good works, it is first of all necessary to give appropriate attention to the persons who create works of art—to artists. We must support and quickly adopt policies which provide appropriate incentives for artists to create works that are befitting the nation and the times.

To yield good and increasingly large social returns, cultural, literary and art activities, works of art and the organizing of the public must be of high quality.

This is the responsibility of each leadership level and each level that manages culture. It is the responsibility of all cultural cadres and each artist. The research into policies concerning cultural, literary and art activities

must be conducted on the basis of materials which scientifically analyze the peculiar characteristics of creative labor and the organizing of these activities, not merely on the basis of simple calculations not backed by knowledge. There must be full adherence to the thinking of "liberating all production capacity" and thorough adoption of the spirit of change, the spirit of democracy when researching policies concerning culture, literature and art. Very good policies are a decisive prerequisite to improving the quality of art and the social returns from cultural, literary and art activities.

To put into practice the important views presented above concerning culture, literature and art, we must fully grasp the thinking and spirit of the resolution of the 6th Party Congress and apply them in life in a positive and comprehensive way.

Footnotes

1. TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 59.

7809

Closely Combining the Economy With Security, Security With the Economy

42/000121 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 87 pp 43-45

[Article by Le Quang Thanh]

[Text] At the 6th Congress, after asserting the need to continue to successfully carry out the two strategic tasks, our party pointed out: "We must tap the strength of the entire proletarian dictatorship system, the strength of the entire party, all the people and all the armed forces, closely combine the economy, national defense and security and intensify the effort to build a national defense and security system of all the people, build the country's rear area in every respect."⁽¹⁾

Thus, compared to the 4th and 5th Congresses, the 6th Congress raised a new requirement: the need to combine the economy with security. This requirement, which was drawn from the realities of building and defending our country during the past 5 years, is a new aspect of the guidance provided by our party in the field of strategy. In conjunction with combining security with national defense in the task of defending the socialist fatherland, the need to closely combine the economy with security, security with the economy has also become a very important and pressing requirement of our country.

In the struggle waged against counter-revolutionaries to defend the gains of the great October Revolution, Lenin advanced a famous argument: "A revolution is only of value when it learns to defend itself."⁽²⁾ This is an objective law of the socialist revolution, because, imperialism still exists in the world and reactionary powers still exist at home. This law also applies to the socialist revolution in our country. Whereas, during the years and

months of the war, the enemy looked for every way to sabotage our efforts to build the rear area—a basic and constant factor in the victory of the war of resistance—through such tactics as inserting spies to commit sabotage and guide bombers in attacks on dikes, factories, farms, fields, crops and so forth, today, their schemes and tactics are new in certain respects. In the early 1970's, the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionary powers collaborated on a plan to sabotage the revolution of the three countries of Indochina, one point in which is: "doing everything possible to prevent Vietnam from becoming a country that is strong economically." Whereas political sabotage, toppling our system by infiltrating our organization, subverting us from within..., is their basic, foremost objective, economic sabotage is also an exceedingly important objective of the enemy today. They are making every effort to take advantage of our economic difficulties, weaknesses and shortcomings and turn economic issues into political issues. Therefore, at this point in time, economic security is closely tied to political security and, in this sense, is also political security. An economy that is developing in a stable manner is a solid guarantee that national security will be maintained. Conversely, good security creates favorable conditions for economic development. In our country's current situation, exacerbating our difficulties with the economy and living conditions in order to weaken us, "slowly bleed us dry" and bring about the collapse of our political system, these are the enemy's foremost concerns. The realities of the struggle waged during the past decade prove that the enemy's acts of economic sabotage are quite sophisticated and comprehensive, ranging from sabotaging production forces to sabotaging the new production relations, from sabotaging the formulation of lines and policies to sabotaging the implementation of lines and policies, from sabotaging material-technical bases to sabotaging crop seed and livestock breeds, from attacking us from without by means of economic encirclement and embargoes to undermining prices, undermining our currency and monopolizing the domestic market, from acts of covert sabotage to acts of overt sabotage, such as causing explosions, setting fires, fomenting disorder, etc.

For these reasons, it would reflect a lack of political vigilance on our part to maintain that all economic losses, that the price upheavals on the market or that the lack of order in circulation and distribution and the negative phenomena in socio-economic life in recent years have been solely the result of our inexperience in management and have nothing to do with the enemy. However, there is also no basis to assert that every economic loss, every economic difficulty in recent years has been due to enemy sabotage. Special attention must be given to the fact that the enemy usually takes advantage of our mistakes to attack us. Therefore, in the work of closely combining economic construction with economic security, maintaining economic security must be considered one of the jobs of foremost importance, the primary responsibility for which lies with the heads of the various economic agencies, sectors and basic units.

The need to closely combine the economy with security, security with the economy and production with security for production must be understood and met on a nationwide scale as well as within each locality, each basic installation and each unit and on each specific job. The specifics involved in maintaining economic security are very broad in scope and encompass all economic sectors, particularly the key sectors (grain, supply, home trade, foreign trade, communications-transportation...), the places where strategic products are managed and the areas in which many supplies and assets are concentrated. In all economic activities, from the implementation of a policy or position to the construction of an enterprise or the opening of a store, very specific security requirements, measures and standards must be adopted and implemented. Their implementation must be closely inspected. In recent years, due to a lack of understanding of the relationship between the economy and security, many places have separated production from production security, as a result of which unnecessary losses have occurred.

In socialist North Vietnam during the 20 years from 1955 to 1975, there was a struggle between the two paths and a struggle between ourselves and the enemy. Although these two struggles were closely related and exerted an impact upon each other, it was not very difficult to discern one from the other. Today (in the space of the past 12 years), a new state of class struggle has emerged nationwide: the struggle between ourselves and the enemy and the struggle between the two paths are closely intertwined and interwoven. The enemy is making every effort to use criminals and negative phenomena to intensify their sabotage against us. For this reason, the struggle against counter-revolutionaries, the struggle to maintain economic security must be closely connected to the struggle against other criminals, particularly those who commit crimes against socialist property, and the struggle against negative phenomena. This is a matter involving many things that are new and to which importance must be attached when combining economic strategy, security strategy and socio-cultural strategy. In the field of practical organizational work, this demands that we educate and mobilize the cadres and workers of the various economic sectors, vigorously uphold the right of collective ownership, heighten the sense of protecting socialist property and wage a determined struggle against enemy sabotage, against persons who willfully commit crimes against socialist property, regardless of the forms in which these crimes are concealed. The mass movement to maintain security within agencies and enterprises and the mass movement to maintain security in society must be closely combined, must support each other. On the other hand, we must strengthen the security and self-defense organizations at agencies, enterprises and warehouses; actively investigate and reach conclusions concerning cases of economic sabotage and suspected economic sabotage and prosecute saboteurs in a prompt and strict manner; not appoint unreliable persons to important positions

related to national economic secrets, to valuable materials; and take determined steps to expel from these positions elements who show signs of being degenerate and deviant. In conjunction with the struggle to defeat the enemy's policy of encircling our economy, it is necessary to quickly reorganize the management of exports and imports as well as foreign trade activities so that the enemy cannot use them to infiltrate and sabotage us. In the process of building socialism, economic cooperation and trade at home and with other countries are steadily developing and our country's overseas economic relations are steadily expanding. This is an objective requirement, is a law in the development of the socialist economy. We now need to expand our economic and scientific-technical relations with the socialist countries, the countries of the third world, the developed industrial countries and international organizations and private foreign parties on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit. Security work must meet this requirement. Of importance is the need to meet both economic requirements and security requirements well. We must avoid loopholes, avoid divulging state secrets and avoid "having our brains picked" without achieving any economic returns. At the same time, we must avoid placing sole emphasis upon maintaining security, thus restricting economic development.

Closely combining the economy with security, security with the economy is a very important part of the coordination between socio-economic strategy and security strategy. It is a lesson, an experience learned and gained by our party over the past 10 years. It is a practical expression of the close connection between the two strategic tasks in the current stage.

Footnotes

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 6th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1987, p 33.

2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 37, p 145.

7809

Toward the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution: New Step of Development of Vietnamese-Soviet Economic Relations

42100012) Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 87, pp 46-50, 57

[Article by Nguyen Van Quy]

[Text] Last May, an important event took place for Vietnamese-Soviet relations: Comrade General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee Nguyen Van Linh paid an official friendship visit to the Soviet Union. With this visit, the relations of solidarity and all-around

cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union were upgraded to a new level. As far as economic ties are concerned, the visit marked a crucial turning point.

Vietnamese-Soviet economic relations were established in 1955 when President Ho Chi Minh visited the Soviet Union and signed an agreement on Soviet assistance to Vietnam in economic restoration.

Since then, economic relations between the two countries have ceaselessly developed. During the period from 1955-75, the Soviet Union helped us restore and build nearly 200 projects, including the first major projects of socialism in our country.

Following the victory of our people's anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation in 1975, Vietnamese-Soviet economic relations took off on a new plane of development. The sum of non-refundable aid and loan credits extended by the Soviet Union to Vietnam during the 5 years from 1976-80 almost equalled that of the previous 20 years. With the signing of the Vietnam-USSR Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in November 1978, bilateral relations and economic ties in particular were again further strengthened qualitatively. The sum of aid and loans given by the Soviet Union to our country in the 5 years from 1981-85 nearly doubled that of the previous 5 years. The high degree of political unanimity between the two parties as reflected in the meetings between their general secretaries in June 1985 and in November 1986 provided the basis for strongly broadening bilateral economic cooperation, with the Soviet Union increasing the sum of its aid and loans for the 5 years of 1986-90 to more than twice that of the 5 years of 1981-86.

Over the past 10 years and more, while the United States and hostile forces have wickedly mounted an economic blockade against Vietnam, Soviet assistance has truly been of extremely great significance. The Soviet Union has met 70-100 percent of our need for the most important strategic supplies, thus playing a decisive part in helping us maintain production and insure the people's livelihood. Various fully equipped projects concerning power, coal, petroleum and natural gas, engineering, communication and transportation, cement and so forth built by the Soviet Union have helped us generate production capabilities at the weakest links of the national economy and strengthen the initial material-technical bases of socialism in our country.

Looking back at the past 37 years of Vietnamese-Soviet economic cooperation, there are some features which stand out: first, for various reasons, including our rock bottom starting point, the Soviet Union has helped us build many projects serving as the foundation of the economy, which require huge investments and extended construction time with slow capital turnover and recovery. Second, apart from military aid, Soviet economic assistance has also come into the form of non-refundable, regular, and irregular aid in addition to loans. This

is not to mention that in July 1973, the Soviet Union declared the nullification of all loans given to us, both principal and interest. Third, regarding trade relations, Vietnam has always recorded an important surplus, with the volume of exports being less than one-third that of imports in some years. Therefore, the Soviet Union has always reserved an amount of credit for us to cover the import surplus. Our side has often failed to honor the commitments already signed in the various agreements. Even the goods we deliver to our friends fail to meet the qualitative norms.

These features show that such a cooperation only benefits one side; and it is characterized by heavy and drawn-out subsidization. This mechanism of cooperation is no longer suited to the present situation.

First of all, the socialist countries in CEMA unanimously agreed that in the present stage of historic development, socialist countries must improve the guidelines of cooperation among fraternal countries and strengthen the socialist economic alliance in order to develop the strength of the whole community in the economic competition with capitalism. The procedures for cooperation, which have thus far been based on the supply of raw materials and fuel from the Soviet Union and the trade of goods, are no longer appropriate. These procedures do not encourage the vigorous application of technological progress to enhance the quality of products. The current trend in the world is to intensify the international division of labor and to specialize and cooperativize production. Owing to their cooperativization of production in the machinery manufacturing industry, the Eastern European capitalist countries have provided 40 percent of the foreign trade circulation in this sector. The specialization and cooperativization of production is a lever to accelerate technological progress and enhance the quality of products. The socialist community countries have taken only the first steps in this direction. The CEMA members also advocate that the procedures of cooperation should be changed along with renovating the forms of cooperation and changing the bureaucratic measures and forms of cooperation among various sectors. This means that the relations of direct cooperation among enterprises must be developed. This is an important form of cooperation and a lever to strengthen the economic alliance among socialist countries. Another important form is to establish international unions and joint ventures.

Among the socialist countries, specialization and cooperativization means the international division of socialist labor. This division demands that the latent potentials and strength of each country must be promoted in order to most effectively develop each country, insuring the implementation of all economic laws, especially the basic economic laws of socialism.

This division also calls for the equal exchange of labor, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The purpose of this division is to reach a level of equal development

among socialist countries, enable each country to develop itself on the basis of its own rationally balanced economy and create conditions for each country to participate more broadly every day in the process of international labor division. Under capitalism, the relations between developed capitalist countries and developing countries are the relations of unequal exchange which cause lagging development in developing countries and unfair international cooperation, and remain exploitative relations. Socialism, which implements equal exchange, does not allow any side to recover an amount of labor higher than which it has provided.

Obviously, socialism accomplishes mutual assistance out of fraternity. Lenin advocated that among the conditions for success of the revolution in each country is the assistance from those countries which have won victories. The dialectics of nature indicate that everything has its own objective limits. The one-way assistance is mainly concentrated on the initial stage. Then, depending on the development and maturity of the assisted country, the one-way assistance will be gradually shifted to relations mainly of cooperation. The interests of world socialism daily demand that the aid-receiving countries quickly surge forward and stand firmly on their own feet in order to help in turn other countries lagging behind it. Many of the Eastern European socialist countries have achieved this point. These countries are collectively helping Vietnam, Mongolia and Cuba, according to the CEMA decision.

In its relations of cooperation with Vietnam, the Soviet Union has helped Vietnam in line with the Marxist-Leninist spirit of proletarian internationalism as the first socialist country in the world and the most powerful country in the socialist community.

The Soviet Union also gives the greatest amount of assistance to many nations in the world from Europe to Asia, from Africa to Latin America. Taking the developing countries alone, the Soviet Union has helped 70 countries build 3,240 projects of which 1,948 have been put into use. What is characteristic of Soviet assistance is that it is oriented toward helping countries build major economic sectors. As a result, in many circumstances, cooperation with the Soviet Union is the main factor that decides the establishment of many modern economic sectors in newly independent countries.

The Soviet Union has scrupulously observed the UN decision saying that developed industrial countries must earmark 0.7 percent of their national income to help underdeveloped countries. In reality, the Soviet Union has earmarked a larger figure than that of the United States, the FRG, Japan and France.

It could be asserted that had the Soviet Union concentrated its economic potentials on caring for the livelihood of its own people, the living standard in the Soviet Union would not have been as it is. Particularly, in the present world conditions, the Soviet people desire to

further improve their living standard. This is totally legitimate. The Soviet party and state have upgraded the social policy to a strategic task mainly in response to this desire. This is in the interests not only of the Soviet Union but also world socialism. Progressive mankind needs a powerful Soviet Union with a high standard of living. This is the mainstay and the cause for confidence for all those who want a beautiful world.

The Vietnamese people also have a totally legitimate aspiration of raising their living standard. Although there is one special condition in the country—that the gunfire has not completely stopped—which may not allow us to think so, such thoughts do not permit us to proceed to demand from the Soviet Union what goes beyond the principles of relations of economic cooperation. Realities over the past 10 years and more show that although we have achieved peace and national reunification, we still fail to effectively bring into play our country's strong points—namely land, labor and other resources. It is obvious that we lack capital and technology, but the Soviet Union has been and is ready to bring in capital and technology for cooperation in effectively developing these strong points. What, then, do we lack? In the final analysis, we lack the will to strive for effective cooperation. The tendency of dependence and the thought that we can go on asking for one-way assistance which our friends are duty-bound to oblige has yet to be overcome. This is, in effect, the tendency of "subsidization," an outmoded mechanism which all countries are resolved to eliminate. If the mechanism of subsidization is hindering progress in a country, it is also a factor that dampens encouragement from positive cooperation in the field of international relations. Worse still, if we place our hopes solely on the mechanism of subsidization, international economic cooperation will be driven to deadlock. This mechanism must be replaced by the mechanism of socialist business accounting and by the principle of mutual benefit.

Only on the basis of harmoniously combining the interests of both sides can we maintain and develop cooperation. The problem is to find a flexible form of cooperation suited to the potentials and capabilities of each country. Vietnam is classified as one of the three most underdeveloped countries in CEMA. Therefore, CEMA has decided to provide collective assistance to our country as well as to Mongolia and Cuba. This is collective assistance from the community and not from the Soviet Union alone. Furthermore, this assistance is based on the principle of mutual benefit. However, the Soviet Union has, in effect, given the greatest assistance to each of the three countries mentioned. The cooperation between Cuba and Mongolia and the Soviet Union has in the main met the principle of mutual benefit, with each side successfully keeping its commitments. It is thanks to the equal and mutually beneficial cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that Cuba and Mongolia have been able to enter the period of finishing the construction of the material and technical bases of socialism and completing economic industrialization.

and to gradually approach the level of an industrial-agricultural country. Meanwhile, we are still in the initial stage of the transition period and have to create the necessary preconditions for accelerating industrialization in the next stage. Our starting point is much lower than that of even Cuba and Mongolia. Our national income per capita is 10 times less than the Eastern European socialist countries whereas that of Cuba is only 1.5 times smaller and that of Mongolia, twice as small.

What is the secret of the fairly rapid progress achieved by Cuba and Mongolia? Obviously, there are many factors involved here, including the factor concerning the starting point. Nevertheless, finding a suitable form of cooperation is an important factor that has enabled Cuba and Mongolia to attract positive cooperation from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It would be wrong for us to absolutize anything. Cuba, Mongolia and countless other countries are encountering a myriad of difficulties in economic development. Nevertheless, it must be noted that cooperation between the Soviet Union and Cuba and Mongolia has been effective in that it successfully helped develop the strong points of Cuba (sugar and some other sectors) and those of Mongolia (livestock breeding and various types of minerals). Operating in Mongolia now is an international geological survey team whose members come from a number of fraternal socialist countries. This team enjoys the legal status of a foreign enterprise on Mongolian soil.

The realities of international economic cooperation cited above indicate that renovation is extremely necessary and urgent; and it is impossible to exclude Vietnamese-Soviet relations from this process of renovation. This means that these relations must be effected along the line of equality, mutual benefit and shared responsibility. It is the only way for us to win the enthusiastic participation of the fraternal countries, above all the Soviet Union, in helping us with capital and technology to exploit our strong points and turn out large quantities of high-quality products for the benefit of ourselves as well as our friends. It is also the only way for us to win the credibility of our friends and prompt them to constantly broaden the scale of cooperation and through this, help us rapidly upgrade the level of production so as to join in an equal international division of labor at an early date, gradually shorten the gap between our country and the developed countries, and catch up with the general level of the socialist community and the world. If we continued to rely on our friends, it would be difficult for us to get out of the current economic difficulties.

On the basis of this renovation, the Soviet Union has agreed to concentrate on cooperation with Vietnam to realize the three key economic programs adopted by the latter at its 6th Party Congress and to join us in formulating and carrying out large-scale and long-term cooperation programs in the fields of agriculture, consumer goods production, engineering and electronics, fertilizer and chemicals, mineral exploitation and labor cooperation. Also on the basis of renovation and with the

experience gained over the past years in the course of cooperation, the Soviet Union has agreed with us on the following principles for cooperation.

The Soviet Union makes uniform investment in production from start to finish and meets the necessary needs concerning the livelihood of the workers participating in cooperation programs.

The Soviet Union helps Vietnam in the field of science and technology, organizes and manages production activities and guarantees product quality and the efficacy of the various cooperation programs.

Vietnam insures full realization of the commitments on the delivery of products.

Flexible forms of cooperation are carried out at all three levels—state, sector and enterprise—including direct relations between enterprises and the establishment of international combines and joint ventures.

On the part of Vietnam, it is necessary to thoroughly develop within our entire party and people the spirit of self-reliance and self-strengthening so as to strive for equal and mutually beneficial cooperation with our friends. We must resolutely correct our previous mistakes, thoroughly change the utilization of equipment and supplies provided by our friends based on bureaucratic and subsidy-based methods which result in huge wastage, and promptly readjust the cumbersome and ineffectual cooperation machinery which is only suited to the former mechanism of cooperation based on subsidization. All workers and employees of the various economic sectors from the central to grassroots level must basically change their ways of thinking and doing things so as to meet the new requirements of cooperation—that is, to thoroughly grasp the principles of socialist business accounting. Only in this way will it be possible for us to upgrade Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation to a new level of qualitative development.

Due to its underdevelopment, Vietnam still needs Soviet assistance to meet a number of pressing needs in production and life and to develop its infrastructure. Nevertheless, a point of important significance is that both sides have affirmed their resolve to shift from a relationship based chiefly on assistance and trade to a relationship of cooperation in production for mutual benefit. This is a turning point in bilateral economic relations.

Economic relations reflect political relations and political relations guide economic relations in return. Close economic cooperation is impossible without a high level of political unanimity. The recent visit to the Soviet Union by Comrade General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh and his talks with Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, resulted in complete political unanimity. This once again testifies to the fact that strengthening solidarity and all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union is the cornerstone of our foreign

policy. The history of socialism over the past 7 decades and the realities of Vietnamese-Soviet relations over past years show that Vietnam must effect large-scale cooperation with the Soviet Union in order to develop its economy. The Soviet people want Vietnam to be powerful just as the Vietnamese people want the Soviet Union to be powerful. Thus is the cause of the October Revolution and we have reached an agreement on this. However, this has come about a little late and we have wasted many years. Therefore, it is the urgent duty of the entire party and people of Vietnam to make the greatest efforts to realize their commitments. We must not only carry out successfully the agreements already signed, but must also continue to broaden the scale of cooperation. Only by so doing can we bring our country's strong points into full play to increase production, insure the livelihood of our people and accomplish the historic tasks adopted at the 6th Party Congress for the remaining years of the initial stage of the transition period.

7809

Toward the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution: Soviet Democracy: Steady Improvement

42100012k Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 87 pp 51-57

[Article by Professor Nguyen Ngoc Minh]

[Text] Some 69 years ago, V.I. Lenin wrote the famous words "Soviet government, this form of the proletarian dictatorship, is 1 million times more democratic than the most democratic of the bourgeois republics." (1) In his work "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," a new category, "proletarian democracy," the opposite of "bourgeois democracy," was born. Today, these two categories have become the two categories that distinguish the two socio-political systems in the world, the socialist system and the capitalist system.

Lenin defined the backbone of "proletarian democracy" as follows: "The system of proletarian democracy, of which soviet government is one of the forms, has brought a development and expansion of democracy unprecedented in the world for the vast majority of the population, for the exploited and working people." (2)

Today, Soviet democracy is being steadily improved. This is one of the most significant achievements in the 70 years since the victory of the great October Revolution.

Looking back on the development of Soviet democracy during the past 70 years, several milestones marking this development can be seen:

1. "The Declaration of the Rights of the Russian Nationalities," the first important document on the rights of the nationalities, which was promulgated only 8 days after the establishment of the Soviet state. Soviet democracy began with democracy among the nationalities.

Under the czarist regime, there was no equality at all among the nationalities in Russia. The Jews were restricted by some 700 laws. Nationalities that were followers of Islamism and Buddhism and many other religions had also been stripped of many rights. The Russians and the followers of the Orthodox church enjoyed all sorts of special rights and privileges. Following the October Revolution, under Lenin's leadership, the equality of nationalities and the equality of religions were proclaimed. This was the first victory of Soviet democracy. Since then, the nearly 100 different nationalities and tribes living in the Soviet Union have recorded very large achievements in putting the equality of nations into practice.

2. "The Declaration of the Rights of the Laboring and Oppressed Peoples" drafted by Lenin and adopted by the Congress of Soviets held in January 1918 was the second milestone. This declaration established a platform and foundation for the birth of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

On 30 December 1922, on the basis of a proposal made by Lenin, which was widely discussed within the republics, the first All-Union Congress of Soviets adopted the resolution establishing the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. At first, the Union consisted of a number of republics and a number of autonomous provinces. Today, there are 15 Union republics, 20 autonomous republics, 8 autonomous regions and 10 autonomous provinces.

Concerning this victory, Lenin wrote: "The working people placed the new world of unity among the laborers of all nationalities, within which there is no room for any special rights or the slightest bit of oppression of one person by another, up against the old world, the world of the national oppression associated with struggles to conquer nations or with national eccentricity." (3)

The gradual elimination of illiteracy, unemployment, hunger, injustice and countless vestiges of the czarist regime, especially the socialization of land and the other primary means of production, became the solid base of Soviet democracy. By abolishing private ownership of the means of production, the basis underlying all exploitation and oppression was abolished. The establishment of public ownership of the means of production meant the establishment of the right to grant rights. This, in turn, led to the establishment of other rights, of economic, political, cultural and social rights. With this, the exploitation of man by man was abolished.

3. The birth of the 1936 Constitution, which was ratified by the 8th Congress of Soviets. One of the foremost objectives of the 1936 Constitution was to "further democratize the election process by replacing elections lacking equality with elections marked by complete equality, replacing elections through many different levels with direct elections, replacing public elections with secret ballots." (4)

Under this Constitution, all Soviet citizens were equal, regardless of how much property they owned, their national origin, sex, position or rank, length of residence and so forth. Rather, the individual abilities and work of each citizen determined his or her position in society.

The Constitution not only defined the rights of the citizen, but also defined the conditions required to guarantee these rights, namely, legislative procedures (promulgating the necessary documents for each field) and material means. At that time, the Soviet Union had finished building the material-technical bases of socialism.

4. The birth of the 1977 Constitution marked a new stage in the development of Soviet democracy.

In the very preamble to the Constitution, when discussing developed socialist society, the 1977 Constitution states:

"It is a society of true democracy. The political system of this society guarantees the effective management of all the work of society, guarantees increasingly active participating by the laboring people in the activities of the state and guarantees that the rights and true freedoms of the citizen are combined with the obligations and responsibilities of the citizen to society."

The rights of equality of the citizen, the basic rights, the freedoms and the obligations of the citizen are fully defined. The role of the trade union, the Lenin League of Communist Youth, the cooperative organizations, the mass organizations and the worker collectives is emphasized. In particular, the representative soviets (that is, elected agencies) are given broader and more clearly defined authority and tasks. This is the period in which "the basic guideline for the development of the political system within Soviet society is the continued expansion of the system of socialist democracy by further broadening the participation of the citizen in the management of the work of the state and society, perfecting the state apparatus, increasing the activism of mass organizations, strengthening the inspections conducted by the people, strengthening the legal foundation of state and social life, being more open and constantly giving attention to public opinion" (Article 9 of the Constitution).

5. The 27th Congress of the CPSU, which was a congress of historic importance that brought about a strong change in Soviet democracy. Soviet democracy is now entering a new period, a period in which the masses are

displaying very much dynamism and creativity, are developing the enormous role that is theirs in the current reorganization of the land of the Soviets in order to complete the building of developed socialism and gradually advance to communism.

Soviet democracy is a form, the most beautiful form, of socialist democracy. It is the clearest expression of the character of the socialist system.

The 26th Congress of the CPSU (February 1981) defined the essence of this dynamic and effective system of democracy as follows: "It is an attitude of concern for the common cause, for developing production; it is comparing and considering different opinions; it is open criticism and self-criticism based on principle; it is heightening the socio-political activism of each citizen." (5)

The 27th Congress of the CPSU (February 1986) again emphasized the importance of the system of democracy in the new stage and set guidelines for strengthening this system. "Our strategy for accelerated development include further improving social relations, restructuring the contents, form and work methods of the political and ideological systems, bringing greater depth to the system of socialist democracy...

In keeping with Lenin's teaching that 'dynamic, creative socialism is created by the masses themselves,' the party continues to give constant attention to making increasingly effective use of each form of representative and direct democracy and constantly expanding participation by the masses in drafting, adopting and implementing other resolutions. The party continues to be the leading force, the guarantee that the system of socialist self-management by the people will be thoroughly strengthened."

An analysis of Soviet democracy shows its several characteristic features to be the following:

1. Lenin once said "proletarian democracy is democracy for the poor, not democracy for the rich." The working people are the true masters in society. The agencies of the state are only instruments serving the interests of the working people. They are completely different from the agencies of a bourgeois state. The U.S. bourgeoisie calls the U.S. Senate the "millionaires club."

Socialist democracy does not stop at making the working people the owners of the means of production. They also truly participate in the work of managing the state and managing society in increasingly large numbers. Lenin offered the following analysis: "If we only stripped them of the right to own property, that is, take a legal or political action, it will be difficult to solve the problem. Because, what must be done is to truly disenfranchise landowners and capitalists, to truly replace them with a different management—worker management—of factories and fields." (6)

2. Closely tied to the development of the socio-economic system and as an extremely important force behind this development, Soviet democracy has not only been broadened and is not only fully guaranteed from a legal standpoint, but is also being practiced more widely with each passing day. Soviet democracy firmly guarantees the first democratic rights, without which there are no other rights of freedoms. They are the right to a job and the right to receive in accordance with one's labor.

In the Soviet Union, unemployment disappeared long ago.

Combined with the right to a job are the right to an education, to be trained in an occupation, the right to have a decent and increasingly improved standard of living and the right to social insurance when a person becomes old or loses the ability to work. In particular, Soviet democracy attaches importance to guaranteeing equality of rights between men and women in practice. For example, one thing not found in the capitalist countries is equal pay for men and women who perform the same job. The number of college students in the Soviet Union is much higher than in many developed capitalist countries. During the 1984-1985 school year, there were 2,576 college students for every 10,000 persons. Meanwhile, there were only 105 in Great Britain, 115 in the Federal Republic of Germany, 121 in Italy, 154 in France and 144 in Japan. (7)

Guaranteeing the rights of the citizen and implementing these rights better with each passing day have given expression to the fine character of Soviet democracy. This, in turn, has stimulated the strong development of Soviet democracy.

3. Soviet democracy is truly a democracy characterized by socialist humanism. It guarantees, in practice, the genuine freedoms of man, freedoms without which there can be no democracy. Humanism pervades the character of Soviet democracy. The Soviet citizen enjoys very many freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, freedom to hold meetings and demonstrations, inviolability of the person and other freedoms.

4. The overall standards of the working people have been raised to enable them to practice democracy. This includes a marked rise in their cultural standards. Without achieving a certain cultural standard, the conditions needed to practice democracy are lacking. Lenin said that "the illiterate person stands outside politics." The 27th Congress of the CPSU repeated these words of Lenin and stated: "Since then, a little less than 7 decades have passed. There has been an unprecedented rise in the overall educational and cultural level of Soviet citizens and their socio-political experience is much broader. This means that the ability and the need of each citizen to participate in the management of social and state work have increased greatly." (8) The level of education

and culture together with the political standards of the Soviet people have become very important factors in the steady expansion of the system of socialist self-management by the people.

5. The system of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union has been playing an increasingly large role in stimulating the development of society. The 27th Congress of the CPSU observed:

"Democracy is the only wholesome and pure atmosphere in which the body that is socialist society can flourish. Therefore, when we say that the powerful potentials of socialism have yet to be fully utilized by us, we are also saying: without the further development of socialist democracy in all of its aspects and expressions, it is impossible to accelerate the development of society."(9)

Greater democratization of society and the strengthening of the system of socialist self-management by the people, these are the slogans of the moment of the Soviet state under the leadership of the CPSU. The 27th Congress of the CPSU set forth practical measures for implementing these slogans of action.

1. The party is the leading force, is the primary factor guaranteeing the development of socialist self-management by the people. However, the party itself is also a form—the highest form—of a socio-political self-managing organization. Therefore, the practice of democracy must also be developed within the party. "Within the party, there is not and cannot be organizations which are not inspected or criticized, is not and cannot be leadership cadres who are not responsible to the party."(10) Without criticism, there can be no democracy. Democracy begins with self-criticism and criticism. For more than 1 year, in the spirit of squarely facing the truth, speaking the truth, engaging in self-criticism and criticism with a high sense of responsibility, harshly dealing with cadres and party members who violate the law and being determined to carry out reform, the CPSU has made important strides in democratizing the party's internal organization while setting an example in order to stimulate the democratization of Soviet society.

2. Emphasis has been placed upon the responsibility of the elected bodies, from the Supreme Soviet to the local soviets. Steps have been taken to improve the legislative process, strengthen the inspection of law enforcement and evaluate the practical returns from the activities of every state agency and every leader. Gorbachev has said: "Arrangements must be made for increasing discussion during the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of proposals made by the trade unions, the Youth League and other social organizations, the reports of management agencies, the situation within a number of economic sectors and the development of regions."(11) Concerning the role of the local soviets, he has said: "I especially want to direct the attention of the representatives attending this congress to the activities of the local soviets. Today, these soviets can and must become one of the most

effective factors in mobilizing the masses with the aim of accelerating the country's socio-economic development. Having been empowered by the electorate, local administrations are responsible for every aspect of life within their territory."(12)

It is now necessary to intensify the activities of standing committees and improve the ability of deputies to conduct inquiries. And, it has also come time to revise deputy election procedures in order to provide the conditions needed to elect worthy persons to the soviets.

3. Measures have been adopted to heighten the role of the social organizations in the management of the country. Here, the democratic and popular nature of the system is clearly evident. Specifically, attention must be given to the role of the trade unions, the Lenin League of Communist Youth and the worker collectives.

As regards the trade unions, which are the broadest mass organizations in the Soviet Union (consisting of manual workers, civil servants and collective farmers), the primary measures, measures which are always of foremost importance, are to insure the successful implementation of social policy and insure that the interests of the working people are served well.

Youths play a very important role. The 27th Congress of the CPSU stressed: "The young generation that we are educating today will, in many respects, determine the future."

The CPSU has adopted the policy of taking many different measures to heighten the role of the trade unions and the League of Communist Youth, of the associations of writers and voluntary associations within the system of socialist self-management by the people. The party has also taken the position that each form of direct democracy must be utilized in the most effective way possible and that the masses must directly participate in the process of drafting, adopting and implementing resolutions of the state and other resolutions. The Law on Worker Collectives recently promulgated by the Soviet state provided a very important legal basis for developing the various forms of direct democracy. In the leadership of collective farms and other cooperative organizations, there must be strict compliance with the principles of democracy and the statutes of these organizations. Party agencies and the soviets have the responsibility of conducting inspections to insure that the self-management system of collective farms and cooperative organizations always exerts an impact. It must thwart every scheme to bring pressure to bear and put an end to the habits of bureaucracy and the habit of doing everything by issuing orders.

4. Measures are being taken to increase the effectiveness of the people's inspection committees, sections and units. This is a method of on-the-spot supervision, one which provides many conditions for bringing to light wrongdoing and shortcomings in the implementation of democratic procedures.

5. Importance is being attached to the role of the press and openness is being encouraged. Gorbachev said: "Increased public reporting is a matter of principle to us. It is a political matter. Without public reporting, there is not and cannot be a democratic system, political creativity or participation by the masses in management. It can be said that this is the prerequisite to tens of millions of workers, farmers and intellectuals giving thought to the interests of the state and displaying a high spirit of responsibility in their activities, is the starting point for changing the attitudes of our cadres." (13) Gorbachev has criticized the view that openly discussing shortcomings and difficulties will prove to be detrimental in one area or another. In response, he repeated the words of Lenin: "Under all circumstances, communists always need to know the truth."

In the present situation in the Soviet Union, continuing to develop democratization is the most important task. The mass media play the most important role in this work by speaking openly, speaking forthrightly, criticizing and analyzing the processes underlying the restructuring campaign.

6. Practicing democracy and expanding the practice of democracy are being closely tied to strictly complying with and strengthening the law.

To expand the practice of democracy, there must be strict compliance with the law. The 27th Congress of the CPSU expressed a very determined attitude toward each and every violation of Soviet law. Gorbachev said: "One immutable task is the need to use all the power of Soviet laws in the struggle against crime and other acts that violate the law so that every citizen in every residential center feels the concern of the state for his security and inviolability and believes that every person who violates the law will be properly punished." (14) In conjunction with the power of the law, the power of public opinion must also be employed to put democracy into practice.

As we celebrate the 70th anniversary of the great October Revolution, we rejoice over the latest developments of Soviet democracy, an increasingly improved form of socialist democracy. This system of democracy is a living expression of the superior nature of the socialist system, the system toward which many countries on our planet are advancing in their course of development.

Footnotes

1. V.I. Lenin: "On the Socialist System of Law," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 46.

2. Ibid., p 41.

3. Excerpted by Alexandre Proskourine. See: "Une union de peuples freres" A Union of Fraternal Peoples), Novosti Publishing House, Moscow, 1968, under a photograph of Lenin appearing on the back of page 16.

4. Stalin: "The Fundamentals of Leninism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, p 761.

5. The 26th Congress of the CPSU, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 123.

6. V.I. Lenin: "On the Socialist System of Law," p 50.

7. Alexandre Proskourine: "Une union....," p 17.

8. M.S. Gorbachev: "Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the 27th Congress of the Party," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, Novosti News Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p 80.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p 119.

11. Ibid., p 82.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., p 88.

14. Ibid., p 90.

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Toward the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution: Understanding Vietnam-Soviet Literary Exchange

421000121 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 87 pp 58-63, 80

[Article by Phan Hong Giang]

[Text] The strong influence of the October Revolution, of Leninism upon Vietnamese revolutionaries was felt before the direct influence of Soviet literature upon Vietnamese revolutionary literature, thereby creating favorable conditions for Vietnam-Soviet literary exchange.

Nguyen Ai Quoc was not only the first Vietnamese to accept the light of the October Revolution, of Leninism, but was also the first cultural activist of Vietnam to come into contact with the achievements of Russian classical literature and Soviet literature.

In 1923, when he visited the country of Lenin for the first time, Nguyen Ai Quoc did not have an opportunity to meet the brilliant leader of the revolutionary people of the world. Instead, he had to bid Lenin a painful farewell. On the day of Lenin's funeral (27 January 1924), PRAVDA Newspaper (the Soviet Union) carried an essay by Ho Chi Minh entitled "Lenin and the Colonial Peoples." This essay presented Lenin in the colorful folk style of the Eastern revolutionary. Several years later, in late 1930, he wrote a book of poems entitled "Diary of a Sunken Ship," which consisted of 24 chapters. Through

simple and easily understood images, he introduced to large numbers of readers the superiority of the new social system in the Soviet Union. Thus, through the creative efforts of Ho Chi Minh, the revolution, the land of the Soviets and the great Lenin began to become subjects of Vietnamese revolutionary literature.

The founding of the Indochinese Communist Party (1930) ushered in a new period for Vietnamese revolutionary literature. And, from that point onward, the influence of Soviet literature upon Vietnamese revolutionary literature steadily grew.

While the Popular Front was in power in France (1936-39), the Indochinese Communist Party operated publicly. Revolutionary books and newspapers played a significant role in the cultural life of Vietnam during that period. Through French translations, immortal works of Soviet literature, such as "Mother" by M. Gorki, "That's How Steel Is Forged" by N. Ostrovski, "Steel Stream" by A. Serafimovich, "Cement" by F. Glatkov and other works reached Vietnamese readers, causing many persons to embark on the path of revolution. In particular, the short story "Mother" was translated by Nguyen Thuong Khanh (that is, the poet Tran Mai Ninh) into Vietnamese. Many chapters of this translation were published in NGUOI MOI Newspaper (1939), winning widespread acclaim among readers.⁽¹⁾ During the period of the democratic front, the image of the Soviet Union which emerged in the works of Ho Chi Minh and in revolutionary poems that were circulated clandestinely, appeared in many press materials through the poems of To Huu and a series of feature reports by Tran Dinh Long ("Three Years in Soviet Russia"—1938).

The ideological-artistic principles of Soviet literature, which were seen mainly in the works of the founder of socialist realism—M. Gorki—provided Marxist researchers of Vietnam with a solid foundation in the debate during that period concerning the function of art. In an article written on the occasion of Gorki's death (1936), Hai Trieu extolled the revolutionary method of artistic creativity, the essence of which "lies in honestly and clearly describing past or present states so that this true description leads the masses to consciousness, to struggling to build socialism."⁽²⁾ The victory of the "art for man's sake" school led by the Marxist critic Hai Trieu strengthened the position of the young revolutionary literature led by the party.

The party's "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture" (1943) and the report by Truong Chinh entitled "Marxism and Vietnamese Culture" at the 2nd National Cultural Congress (1948)—which formed the cornerstones of the theory on socialist realism in literature—reflected the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist line on literature and art to the specific circumstances of our country.

Immediately after the success of the August Revolution, although we were in a situation that was still very complex and faced both domestic and foreign enemies and the continuing threat of famine, the entire translation of M. Gorki's "Mother" was published (1946). During the same year, in CUU QUOC Newspaper (the organ of the Viet Minh Central Committee), many chapters of M. Solokhov's "Quiet Flows the Don" were printed on page 3.

During the years of the resistance against France, a very small number of French books and magazines in which works of Soviet literature were printed was carefully passed from hand to hand by Vietnamese cultural activists and read in the combat zones. The literary critic Hoai Thanh once told how he and his colleagues copied by hand the entire French translation of M. Solokov's "Breaking Virgin Land."

Following the official establishment of diplomatic relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union and the other people's democracies (January 1950), the introduction of Soviet literature was accelerated. The people in the free zones became familiar with a number of works by K. Simonov, B. Polevoi, I. Ehrenburg, V. Vasileyskaia, A. Serafimovich... In particular, President Ho Chi Minh, writing under the pen name Nguyen Du Kich and although very busy, also set time aside to translate and introduce A. Fyodorov's "The Clandestine Provincial Party Committee."

Significant from the standpoint of the theory of criticism was the publication of translations of the reports by M. Gorki and A. Zhdanov at the 1st Congress of Soviet Writers (1934).

One major milestone in the development of Vietnam-Soviet cultural relations was the first cultural cooperation agreement between the two countries, which was signed in Hanoi on 15 February 1957. Article "3" of the agreement stated the need to "encourage the translation and publication of each other's literary works."⁽³⁾ Whereas the translation of Soviet works of art during the resistance against France was infrequent and usually involved translation into another language, such as French or Chinese, in the late 1950's and early 1960's, this translation effort was regular and large in scale and mainly involved translation directly from Russian. Large numbers of Vietnamese readers read works of high ideological and artistic value in their mother tongue, such as "That's How Steel Is Forged," "The Youth Imperial Guard," "Sapayev," "Quiet Flows the Don," "Breaking Virgin Ground," "A Painful Path," "Teacher's Song," "Harvest," "Typhoon," etc.

The great victory won in the spring of 1975 led to the reunification of the country. More than ever before, Vietnamese literature enjoyed favorable conditions for expanded relations with the literatures of other countries. In the case of Vietnamese literature, the increasing role of international exchange has been closely tied to the

inevitable trend of development of our country's society in the current stage—stronger cooperation in every field with the Soviet Union and the community of socialist countries.

Following 30 years of war, there is now an even greater desire on the part of our people to learn the spiritual cultural values created by mankind, most importantly by the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries. Under the new conditions that prevail today, the attention of Vietnamese writers and readers has naturally turned to modern works describing Soviet man in the process of creative labor and the forging of the new character. Due to the enormous changes brought about in socialist construction in Vietnam and because Soviet literature has made significant progress in reflecting the struggle between the new and the old, the good and the bad as they emerge in life today, the relationship between Vietnamese readers and Soviet literature has become much closer. Whereas, in preceding stages, works of Soviet literature mainly drew for Vietnamese readers an interesting panorama of life in the future, today, through the reality described in Soviet literary works, the Vietnamese reader easily sees things and problems similar to those in the life of Vietnamese society today. The attitude toward Soviet literature is, therefore, entirely new in one respect: whereas we once approached Soviet works primarily from the perspective of gaining an understanding of and appreciating the spiritual life of a friendly nation, we now consider these works to be events in the literary life of a country.

Soviet literature has made considerable contributions in molding the socialist character among Vietnamese readers. Many works of Soviet writers have won widespread acclaim not only within literary circles, but also among large numbers of readers in every stratum of the population. One such work was V. Ovetskin's "The Talk in A District," which raised, in a unique and bold manner, the matter of selecting leadership cadres of the party on the basic level. This book was reprinted many times in the space of a few years. Many localities held spirited and practical discussions, which proved useful in improving the methods of leadership employed by the party in agriculture as well as many other fields. Mention can also be made of books that have caused readers to reflect on their personal lives, such as "The Law of Longevity" by N. Dumbatze, "Tossing and Turning" by A. Kron, "Making Choices" by Yu. Boldarev, "Looking Back on One-half a Lifetime" by Yu. Trifonov, "My Dagestan" by "R. Gamzatov, "The Guillotine" by Ts. Aimatov, "The Fire" by V. Raspuchin, etc.

In recent years, Vietnamese translators have not only given their attention to works by Soviet writers, but have also concerned themselves with introducing theoretical and critical research projects by such Soviet scholars as B. Suskhov, M. Khravshenko, A. Ovtrashenko, G. Pospelov, etc. These projects have provided theorists and critics in our country as well as large numbers of

writers and readers with much useful knowledge concerning one of the leading methods of literary research in the world. Our country's literary press has also regularly introduced noteworthy events in the literary life of the Soviet Union, thus causing our writers to turn their thoughts to important matters concerning our country's literature and art.

The astute and forthright assessments made by the CPSU at the 27th Congress and the January 1987 plenum of the Central Committee concerning the state of Soviet literature and art reflect the Soviet people's stern demands upon this important field in the spiritual life of Soviet society. The spirit of "reform," the process of democratizing Soviet society and the strategy of "accelerated development" are bringing a breath of fresh air into each field of activity of the Soviet people. In this spirit, Soviet writers, following their 8th Congress, will surely produce new harvests of works which address and resolve the burning questions of society and human life, thereby further enhancing the prestige and the dominant role of Soviet literature in the world cultural process. Vietnamese readers will surely be able to read many new and outstanding works by Soviet writers, works which will effectively contribute to the process of change within Vietnamese literature and art.

Another important aspect of Vietnam-Soviet literary exchange is the description of the realities of Vietnam in Soviet works and Vietnamese literature in the land of the October Revolution.

Although Vietnam lies thousands of miles from what was formerly Russia, even during the last century, Vietnam was mentioned many times in the Russian press of that period, such as EUROPEAN NEWS, SELECTED MARITIME WORKS AND NEWS BULLETIN of the Russian Geographic Society. At the start of the 20th century, the Russian poet N. Gumilev (1886-1921) came to Vietnam and composed poems of value on our country, which were published in a collection of poems entitled "Porcelain Rooms" (1918). In 1923, the famous Russian poet O. Mandelstam wrote the first outstanding feature article on Nguyen Ai Quoc shortly after he had arrived in the Soviet Union.(4)

Deserving of attention is that Soviet literary circles, through the political essays of M. Gorki, promptly raised their voices in support of the "Nghe Tinh Soviets" (1930-1931) of the Vietnamese revolution immediately following the founding of our party. In an article entitled "Reply to an Intellectual" (1930), Gorki angrily denounced the bombing of Co Am Village by the French colonialists. This article was presented to us by Hai Trieu and published in TIEN PHONG REVIEW Number 2, 1 December 1945.

Following the 1945 August Revolution, our people's struggle was more widely studied through the projects of A. Gube, B. Dansik, V. Vasileva, I. Poskoraev, etc. In 1949, in a collection of poems "South China Sea," the

Russian poet A. Adalit published a long poem praising our people's struggle against the French colonialists, a poem entitled "Truth and Falsehood."

In 1954, the famous film producer R. Carmen produced an outstanding film entitled "Vietnam on the Path to Victory" and wrote two valuable essays on our people's life in combat: "Ray of Light in the Dense Jungle" (1957) and "Vietnam Fights" (1958). In the early 1960's, a host of works on Vietnam won widespread acclaim within Soviet literary circles, included among which were such works as "The Strength of Vietnam," by P. Antokolski, "Postcards from Vietnam" by V. Soloyushkin and "Spring in Vietnam" by G. Sevun.

When the U.S. imperialists began waging their air war of destruction against the people of the North and pouring troops into South Vietnam, Soviet writers along with the Soviet people and progressive people throughout the world, immediately raised their voices in support of the heroic resistance being waged by our armed forces and people. Mindless of the danger, many well known Soviet writers and poets visited our country during the peak of the bombings and produced for readers some outstanding works: "Vietnam, the Winter of 1970" by K. Simonov, "Route One" by E. Evtushenko, "Border of Fire" by M. Lukonhin, "Reason Incensed" by D. Kugunchinov, "The White Transport Girl" by E. Dolmatovski, "Touch the Bomb" by I. Levshenko, "Two Steps from the Equator" by I. Kuprianov, "Red Bamboo, Black Ocean" by E. Parnov, etc.

The reality of Vietnam during those years and months was a reality of high ideological, artistic and aesthetic values and a source of inspiration to many Soviet writers and poets.

Following the Vietnam-Dien Bien Phu event, friends in the world began to warmly welcome works of poetry and literature of ours, mainly through the door of Soviet literature. In particular, when Vietnam became the symbol of confidence, of revolutionary heroism, readers far and near wanted to learn even more about our country and people. They learned much about the reality of Vietnam through our literature. "...The writers and poets of Vietnam have both today and yesterday within them. Their works...combined together are and will be an epic." (5)

The first literary work of Vietnam to be translated and published in the Soviet Union was "Poems of Vietnamese Poets" (1955). From that beginning, in the space of 30 years, 1955-1985, Soviet translators, through major efforts raised the number of Vietnamese literary works published to 237 in a total of 14,414,000 copies in the languages of 20 Soviet ethnic groups. (6)

It can be said that there has emerged within Soviet literature a rather large collective of researchers and translators of Vietnamese literature, some of whom are quite well known, such as N. Nyikulin, I. Zimenyina, M.

Tikatriov, E. Glazunov, I. Glebova, X. Afonyin, E. Kobelev, A. Sokolov, V. Karpov, P. Alioshin, etc. They have introduced to large numbers of Soviet readers works ranging from "Myths and Legends of Vietnam" (1958) and "Legends of the Mountain Ethnic Groups" (1970) to "The Government in Waiting" (1962), "Tale of Kieu" (1965), "Poems of Ho Xuan Huong" (1968), "Linh Nam Chich Quai" (1969), "Truyen Ky Man Luc" (1974)... In particular, they have attached special importance to famous works of Vietnamese revolutionary literature: in 1961 President Ho's collection of poems entitled "Prison Diary" was translated in the Soviet Union. Later, "The Poems of To Huu" and "Lyric Poems" by other Vietnamese poets were translated.

The largest translation project of which mention must be made is the "Anthology of Vietnamese Literature," which consists of 15 volumes and was printed several times from 1979 to 1984. It begins with "Selected Poems and Prose" by President Ho Chi Minh (1979). The "Anthology" presents, in succession, the main achievements of modern Vietnamese literature from the early 1930's to the late 1970's.

Recently, many works of Vietnamese literature have continued to be published in the Soviet Union, such as "At the End of the Year" and "A Person's Time" by Nguyen Khai, "The Woman on the Express Train" by Nguyen Minh Chau, "The Distance Remaining" by Nguyen Manh Tuan, etc.

Along with translations, appropriate importance has also been attached to researching Vietnamese literature, as seen in the collection of rather detailed specialized works on the history of our country's literature by Professor N. Nyikulin, a number of research projects by L. Etlin, B. Rivtin, V. Semanov, I. Zimanyina, T. Filimonova... Many projects of value by Vietnamese literary researchers, such as Dang Thai Mai, Hoai Thanh, Ha Xuan Truong, Hoang Trinh, Phan Cu De, Nguyen Duc Dan and others have been translated and published in Soviet books, newspapers and journals, helping Soviet readers in a more than small way to learn many important things about our country's literature.

It can be stated that Soviet literature has played the most important role in bringing our country's literature into the international arena. The emergence of representative works of our country's literature in the literary life of the Soviet Union and then in the other fraternal socialist countries and many other countries of the world has been a factor of major significance in the development of our nation's literature. This has encouraged our writers to steadily proceed down the path of socialist realism, thus enhancing the prestige of our country's new literature in the international arena.

From this study of the main aspects of Vietnam-Soviet literary exchange, we can see that the revolutionary literatures of the two fraternal nations share an exceedingly close relationship.

Following the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the 6th Congress of the CPV, the peoples of our two countries are embarking on a new period in their history, one which involves the pressing revolutionary requirements of the campaign to adopt new thinking, adopt a new style of work and adopt a new approach to organizational and cadre work. This process of fundamental change will surely create more favorable conditions for exchange and cooperation between the two literatures of Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

The recent official visit of friendship to the Soviet Union (May 1987) by Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, marked a new stage of development in the friendship and cooperation in every field between the peoples of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. The joint Vietnam-Soviet declaration signed during this visit states: "The two sides have agreed to establish a joint Vietnam-Soviet government commission on cultural cooperation and increase the exchange between the artist associations of the two countries. The Soviet culture days to be held in Vietnam (1987) on the occasion of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution and the Vietnam culture days to be held in the Soviet Union (1990) on the occasion of the celebration of the 45th Vietnam National Day and the 100th anniversary of the birth of President Ho Chi Minh will be events of major significance."(7)

The establishment by the Soviet Union of the Vietnam-Laos-Cambodia Literary Council (June 1987) further strengthened the friendship among the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

This will surely prove to be a new source of inspiration, one which will move cultural and literary circles of Vietnam and the Soviet Union to further strengthen their friendship and cooperation with a view toward serving the noble interests of the cause of both nations, building the new culture and melding the new, socialist man.

Footnotes

1. Relevant materials on file at the M. Gorki Museum in Moscow. Also see: M.B. Kazumin—"The Novel 'Mother' in Vietnam," SOVIET ARCHIVES REVIEW, 1968, bx:1 No 2, pp75-83 (in Russian).

2. Hai Trieu: "Literature and Art," Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1983, pp 150-151.

3. "Selected Agreements, Treaties and Accords Signed by the Soviet Union with Other Countries" (in Russian), Moscow, 1960, Volume 19, p 392.

4. "Nguyen Ai Quoc, a Visit with an Activist of the Communist International," ISKRA Newspaper, No 39, 23 December 1923 (in Russian).

5. Nguyen Xuan Thanh: "Vietnamese Literature Among Our Friends in the World," "Forty Years of Literature," New Works Publishing House, Hanoi, 1986, p 201.

6. Data from the "Exhibit of Vietnamese Literary Works" held at the Lenin Institute in Moscow, from 1 to 7 July 1985.

7. "Joint Vietnam-Soviet Declaration," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 6-1987, p 5.

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Research-Exchange of Opinions Concerning Product Contracts in Agriculture: Are Product Contracts Compatible with the Current Stage?

42100012m Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 87 pp 64-67

[Article by Tran Duc]

[Text] 1. As of the mid-1980's 15,600 cooperatives and 27,500 production collectives had been established nationwide, with 5.33 million cooperative member households, or 65.8 percent of the total number of farm households. The average cooperative has 153 hectares of land and 566 laborers. These cooperatives and production collectives are socialized in form only due to the lack of the developed heavy industry needed to supply agriculture with modern equipment and the fact that using buffalo to plow is still commonplace in the countryside.

For 2 decades, the economic forms mentioned above played a positive role in mobilizing collective labor to build water conservancy projects, build the material-technical bases of socialism in the countryside and carry out the green revolution in the mid-1960's, thereby enabling us to maintain a reasonable grain distribution policy during the years of the resistance against the war of destruction. However, because our conception of socialist transformation was simplistic and as a result of being subjective and impetuous, we hastily put draft buffalo and cattle herds under public ownership and then rapidly upgraded cooperatives to high level cooperatives, conducted many campaigns to expand the scale of cooperatives, etc. These mistakes caused farmers to be less motivated to work and adversely affected agricultural production in more than a small way.

The basic point that must be made is that cooperatives were established on the basis of the manday-labor system. This form of management turned out to be on a higher level than the handicraft nature and the low level of development of production forces. This system did not tap the potentials within agriculture. Cooperative members had little incentive to participate in collective labor and there were even times when they did not want to go into fields to harvest rice. A steady rise in the number of non-production relations mandays caused the

value of the manday to be low. Income from the collective economy was sometimes less than the income earned from the household economy. Clearly, the desire of collective farmers to work had been reduced. In the face of this situation, cooperatives improved their contract policy by switching from piecework contracts to product contracts. Under product contracts, cooperative members keep for themselves the entire amount over and above the contract output quota. After deducting next season's production costs, deducting contributions to the capital formation and public welfare funds and deducting sales to the state under two-way contracts, the balance of the output produced under a contract is distributed to cooperative members on the basis of the number of days worked.

Results show that the new contract policy put into effect in 1983 brought some vitality back to the countryside and established closer ties between cooperative members and their cooperatives: they began going to work early and leaving late and diligently invested more labor and fertilizer in their rice fields in order to exceed contract quotas by even wider margins. Production, once stagnated, began to develop. The income of cooperative members rose and contributions to the state were guaranteed. But, as time went by, the prices of technical materials rose rapidly while the prices at which the state procured paddy from farmers rose slowly. This caused the value of the manday to be low, as a result of which the income of cooperative members increased by only a small amount. Production over and above contract quotas also has not been rising as quickly as it once was. In summary, in view of the costs incurred, the income of cooperative members from the collective economy has not been what they desired. Therefore, during the past few years, cooperative members at many places have asked that they be allowed to give back some of the land being worked by them under contract, retaining only enough to pay their taxes and sell paddy to the state to fulfill their contract and support their families while putting their capital and labor into private businesses.

2. The situation described above raises some burning questions: should product contracts be re-evaluated? Are they still suitable? Should we switch to a new form? Or, are these contracts, for the most part, acceptable and only need to be improved? There is also the thinking that we should return to the form of contract used in the 1960's and 1970's.

To make their way out of this situation, many localities improved their contract policy by more closely managing the number of mandays, thereby significantly reducing the number of non-production related mandays and raising the value of the manday, although not by much. In the meantime, regrettably, the relationship between the state and cooperative has not been improved. The prices of technical materials and consumer goods sold to farmers remain high while the prices of agricultural products sold by cooperative members to the state, although higher, still cause farmers to incur losses. The

municipality of Haiphong has taken the path that provides a basic solution: 2 years ago, some persons maintained that because production forces in the countryside were still at a low level of development, developing production required, from the standpoint of management, that that manday system be abolished and replaced with simple cooperation based on manual labor and non-mechanized technology combined with a division of labor (agriculture, industry and so forth) in the form of technical service organizations helping farmers to put technical measures into practice. Thus, cooperative members are responsible for managing production on the land assigned to them. They are required to pay, through the cooperative, for the services provided by service organizations. After they have fulfilled their obligation and made their payments to the collective funds, they are permitted to keep for themselves the balance of the product produced.

This management method is being applied in many localities. It provides incentive to work, encourages cooperative members to invest more capital in production and reduces their contributions (while still insuring the sale of agricultural products to the state under contracts). This new management method requires that the state help cooperatives to build and strengthen their material-technical bases, improve their work tools and prepare the base needed for the emergence of mechanized production. It also requires that the state quickly improve various policies (the price policy, tax policy, procurement policy, the policies concerning retired persons and families short of help, the army's rear area policies and so forth) with the aim of providing incentive for farmers to produce. In the localities of the South, it is also necessary to resolve numerous other problems, such as continuing to carry out the redistribution of cropland, building water conservancy projects, constructing fields (in some field areas, there is cropland of collective members and cropland of persons who have not joined a production collective), etc. Another point deserving of attention is that some localities have been using cooperation, credit, contracts and so forth to maintain normal production. However, at these places, there are still some farm households that have more means of production than they need but lack labor. In this case, we think that were these households permitted to hire seasonal manpower, production, society and the cooperative would be served well without any fear that these households would follow the capitalist path.

Clearly, with the dismantling of the manday-labor system, production relations are reduced a notch to be consistent with the nature and low level of development of production forces. Taking the place of this system is simple cooperation among cooperative members in production with the active assistance of organizations which provide plowing and harrowing, water conservancy, seed production, pest prevention and control, technical material supply and other services. These organizations are run by the collective or the state and, in some cases, are run by cooperative members or private farmers. This is

a very important key which cooperative management boards must use to introduce technical advances in the countryside, insure the uniformity of fields on which intensive cultivation is practiced and rapidly raise crop and livestock yields while gradually building the material-technical bases of cooperatives. To create the conditions needed to develop production and market products, many localities have also reorganized the management of credit cooperatives and marketing cooperatives. At places where conditions permit, agricultural-industrial-commercial-credit cooperatives have been established. Are not these cooperatives a correct economic form in the current stage, a form which, in pilot projects, has been readily accepted by farmers in many localities because it yields high economic returns? If this approach is taken, it is not necessary to make an orderly progression from piecework contracts to product contracts and then to the management of service costs. Rather, simple cooperation in production with the assistance of service organizations can be achieved at the very outset in both production and circulation.

These new methods of organization and management require that the material-technical bases of agriculture be reorganized to be consistent with the capital capabilities of cooperative members and the level of industrial development of our country in the present stage. Therefore, we also should not be surprised when we see, following the adoption of product contracts, many products such as buckets with long ropes, buckets with long handles, axles, ponchos and so forth, appearing in rural markets. The guidelines and rate of development of tractor and mechanized tool production are also being adjusted. There was a time when we made considerable progress down the path of mechanization: during the 5 years from 1976 to 1980, the state invested in mechanization nearly 1 billion dong, raising the total number of tractors to 20,000, a total of 1.5 million CV and an average of 0.26 CV per hectare of farmland. With the total capacity available then, we should have been able to mechanize about 6 to 7 million hectares of cropland (at 0.2 CV per hectare). In actuality, however, due to many management shortcomings, we only mechanized about one-fourth of the total amount of land under cultivation (in 1980, when the highest level of mechanization was achieved, we only plowed 2.3 million hectares by machine, or 27.3 percent of the total amount of land under cultivation). Here, attention must be given to the following: production forces consist not only of production tools, but also of the persons who utilize these tools. It cannot be concluded that agriculture automatically becomes advanced once it has been equipped with tractors. To develop an advanced production force, it is also necessary to have persons who are capable of operating machinery and equipment and to take many other technical measures.

It can be seen that mechanization as carried out in previous years yields very low returns. In recent years, a new model of the material-technical bases of agriculture has come into being: in conjunction with continuing to

improve farmland irrigation projects by means of three types of projects (large, medium and small scale) and developing the role played by technical stations and farms, mechanization is being carried out on a selective basis, with importance attached to water conservancy, plowing and harrowing, rice threshing, milling and so forth. Here, efforts have been focusing on areas experiencing an acute shortage of draft power (buffalo and cattle), particularly to enable the production of winter crops in the northern provinces and summer-fall crops in the southern provinces. At the same time, laborers have been fully equipped with hand tools and increased draft power has been provided (raising the total number from 2.21 million head in 1976 to 2.67 million head in 1984).

3. The process of the socialist transformation of our country's agriculture has been long. We have spent nearly one-quarter of a century searching for an appropriate path and economic forms that are specific in terms of organization and management with a view toward establishing and perfecting the new production relations.

The lesson to be learned is that we must establish in which stage our country is first on the basis of accurately evaluating the progress of the socialist revolution. It has been our assertion that we are in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. However, such is not enough. We must also adopt new thinking concerning socialism and the socialist economy.

We have come to realize that the emergence of collective ownership of the means of production is never proof that socialist production relations have come into being. It only means that the way has been opened for the formation of new style production relations that are compatible with production forces which are still at a low level of development. If the level of development of production forces is not high and cooperatives are immediately organized on the basis of the manday-labor system, which is only compatible with a mechanized and modernized agriculture, the result is not real socialism. Taking this approach will make it difficult to achieve the general target set for agriculture by the 5th and 6th Congresses. We also recognize that the household economy is a component of the collective economy and that socialist production relations do not simply relate to ownership, but also to all relations involved in the use of the means of production and the results of production, in developing production and product distribution. They are an entire system of economic interests shared by the laborer and the collective that is society. We also realize one other thing, namely, that social progress must be based on economic development, that public welfare cannot exceed the capabilities of the economy.

Thus, to establish economic forms that are compatible with the current stage of cooperativization, it is important that we assess the nature and level of development of production forces. If we find that production forces are still weak, we must, in conjunction with taking many steps to strengthen material-technical bases, holdily

reduce production relations to the next lower level, abolish the manday-labor system, organize technical services and promulgate a host of policies with the aim of providing incentive for farmers to produce. The purpose of taking this approach is to raise the development of production forces in the countryside to a higher level.

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Research-Exchange of Opinions on Product Contracts in Agriculture: Product Contracts in Agriculture Need To Be Changed and Improved
42100012n Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 87 pp 68-72

[Article by Dao Quang Cat]

[Text] I. The Situation Concerning Agricultural Product Contracts in the Recent Past

Now that final product contracts with individual laborers (actually, with individual families) within agriculture have been in effect for quite some time, I think that sufficient conditions now exist to analyze and evaluate the returns that have been achieved and determine the strengths and weaknesses of these contracts in order to develop a more reasonable method.

A. Evaluating the results and existing shortcomings.

Final product contracts with individual laborers have produced specific results:

Farmers, their activities now closely tied to fields, have invested capital and labor and work from early in the morning until late at night cultivating the fields that they have agreed to work under contract.

Agricultural output has increased and become more stable than before contracts were first implemented. However, compared to the period when cooperatives were low-level cooperatives, output has not been higher or has not been significantly higher. Meanwhile, problems have come to light that need to be seriously examined:

1. The material base and business structure of cooperatives have been dismantled

In the countryside today, we see that not only have the storehouses and drying yards of cooperatives been dismantled, but livestock units, brick making units, farm tool production units... have also been completely disbanded. At some places, the management board has even sold ponds, streams, hills, fields, machinery and farm tools to generate funds. Everyone is concerned solely with their own contract fields. Cooperatives at which production was once diversified in crop production, livestock production and the other sectors and trades have now returned to monoculture.

2. The countryside has begun to divide into the rich and the poor. A rather clear state of mutual exploitation has emerged.

Because the contracts entered into with each family have been "non-specific" contracts, each household has been doing everything on its own and no one has been giving anyone else their assistance. As a result, families that have much labor and capital have become rich through agricultural production and business on the free market. Meanwhile, families that are short of help, are experiencing difficulties, unexpected problems and shortages are forced to sell their rice before it matures (during the period between harvests) and borrow money at high rates of interest. These practices have now become lawful. Unity and mutual assistance within cooperatives have gradually disappeared.

3. At some places, the management board has become a landlord and a "manipulator" exploiting farmers.

The very large size of cooperatives—an entire village or several villages—coupled with a product contract with each family has made it difficult for management boards to successfully manage work. As a result, the main jobs of the management board are to calculate how fields will be divided (which is only done for the first season), distribute materials and collect paddy for the cooperative when it comes time to pay taxes. At some places, the management board has become a middle man who does business in materials and goods of the state that have been siphoned from the state by some degenerate and deviant cadres and personnel or by private merchants. The management board controls the products of farmers by keeping prices down, pressuring farmers into selling their products and then buying "low" and selling "high" in order to profit by the price difference. At some places, the management board has become a speculator in agricultural materials and the consumer goods of farmers. For example, when management board members learn that the state will be selling nitrogen fertilizer or consumer goods to the cooperative and procuring such agricultural products as beans, peanuts, sesame and so forth, they encourage farmers to sell them these products at low prices (through the cooperative store) and trade these products with the commerce sector for nitrogen fertilizer and goods which are then sold to farmers at high prices. The resulting profit is shared by management board members.

4. These contracts have made it difficult to implement the guideline on combining the economy with national defense and have affected efforts to build the armed forces to some extent.

With this kind of contract, one thing is very clear: those families that have much labor do better than the rest. Therefore, it is very difficult to mobilize youths to fulfill their military obligation when their families are short of labor to work their contract fields. Families of state cadres and of army cadres far away on assignment or in

combat who have no one left at home but the wife and small children and are receiving no assistance from anyone encounter very many difficulties. When it comes time to transplant, weed and so forth, the entire season can be missed if the mother or a child becomes ill. This is not to mention that the lack of capital and help makes it impossible for them to invest more in production. If their yield is low or their crop fails, the family does not have enough to eat. If the family is in debt and paying interest on interest, greater difficulties arise and the family goes into the next season even more deeply in debt. At some places, such outrageous measures as confiscating the beds, cabinets, hogs, chickens and so forth of cooperative members have been taken to pay their debts. Since the introduction of contracts with individual families, collectives have given little attention to implementing the policies concerning the families of war dead and the families of troops. This has more than slightly affected the morale and will to fight of some cadres and soldiers on duty in the army.

5. Social relations and socialist qualities and ethics have deteriorated.

As a result of the situation described above, the socialist qualities and ethics that we have worked so hard to build and cultivate have gradually been eroded. Social relations have changed. Even the relations between brothers and sisters, between fathers and sons have also been affected by the increasing difficulty of everyday life. The elderly, persons who lack help and persons who have no one to rely upon are experiencing even greater difficulties. The role of the mass organizations for youths, teenagers, children, women and so forth is becoming less of a factor with each day that passes. While this is not a situation that exists at all times and places, exists at all cooperatives, it can be said that there are reasons to believe that this situation will spread. There are also some management boards that have retained their good qualities, their sense of justice and are still concerned about the living conditions of cooperative members. This is truly something very valuable but it, too, is not widespread.

B. The problems cited above are a reflection of contradictions within this method of contracting.

1. The "final product contracts with individual families" contain within them the roots of "non-specific" contracts and negative phenomena.

The final product is the combined result of all production jobs, not just the three jobs performed by families. To produce a high and stable output, each family must, of course, look for ways to overcome the difficulties and deficiencies in the five jobs performed by the cooperative—all five of which play a more decisive role in the final product. For example, fertilizer is needed to produce good rice. If the cooperative supplies fertilizer late or does not supply enough, cooperative members must

buy it on the outside at very high prices even though they clearly know that this fertilizer originally came from the cooperative's own storehouse.

The seed stored by cooperatives might not be good (because the technical sections of the cooperatives also no longer exist). Therefore, cooperative members must find seed on their own. Some families which have the necessary conditions begin producing their own seed and even become seed specialists. When such conditions exist, the cooperative management board sees that it makes no difference if it is bureaucratic and irresponsible. Life forces the farmer to look after himself. Persons begin taking advantage of this situation to make more money for themselves. All these problems gradually lead to "non-specific" contracts. As a result, other ills also spread. The conditions exist for bureaucracy and authoritarianism to develop. Within cooperatives, more and more people leave production and the number of indirect mandays worked by each person is two times higher than the number of mandays worked in direct production by a skilled cooperative member. Thus, some persons do not work or do very little work but greater conditions exist for conspiracy and bribery to develop. Simply by offending a cadre, some cooperative members might be assigned a poor field in place of a good one, a field far away in place of a field nearby, might have some of the land assigned to them under their contract taken away, etc.

The situation described above also leads to farmers at some places not being willing to fight natural disasters. They say that they would rather lose their crop than fight a fire to save their meager harvest and then be found at fault when trying to comply with the very bothersome procedures involved in obtaining a waiver of contract obligations. At scattered places, some families have left farming and gone into trade. The persons hired to work the fields of the cooperative need only deliver to the cooperative the output required under contracts.

2. Contracts with families are the reason for the decline in the assets and production tools of the collective.

During the past several years the draft cattle herds of many cooperatives have declined. At many places, people have been hoeing fields and pulling plows in place of buffalo. In an agriculture that is based mainly on manual labor, buffalo are the main source of draft power. Buffalo have been entirely collectivized but the persons who use them are individuals (the cooperative assigns one buffalo to every three to five families and each household plows and harrows its own fields). Because buffalo do not receive good care, they are exhausted in only a few seasons. The other types of tools, such as rice threshing machines, livestock feed grinders, livestock pens, drying yards, granaries and so forth, are also gradually disappearing, causing serious waste.

In summary, agricultural product contracts with individual laborers no longer provide the degree of incentive they once did. While we must continue to build upon the positive aspects of this method of contracting, we must also squarely face the truth, analyze and evaluate the limitations of this method and make proposals aimed at perfecting the new contracting mechanism.

II. Some Proposals Concerning a New Mode of Contracting

A. Continuing to utilize final product contracts.

It must be clearly stated that contracts and final product contracts are correct. They are a scientific method of managing labor and managing production. However, there are capitalist contracts and then there are socialist contracts. The contracting methods of capitalism suit the objective of strengthening and developing capitalism. The contracting methods of socialism must have the effect of stimulating production while also strengthening socialist production relations. Therefore, contracting methods must be selected that are compatible with the characteristics and specific circumstances of our country but which do not violate the fundamental principles of socialism.

Ours is a backward agricultural country whose production still resembles the production of feudal times. Before us lie two paths: the capitalist path and the socialist path. From the standpoint of production, capitalist production is many times more progressive than feudal production but socialist production is far superior to capitalist production. When we apply an economic form that is capitalist to some extent, it might have a temporary stimulative effect upon our very underdeveloped production. However, rather than stopping here, we must research and develop specific, appropriate economic forms in order to gradually advance our country's economy to socialism.

B. Implementing final product contracts with production units (with units that are smaller than those that currently exist).

In agricultural production today, cropland, buffalo and cattle, the primary means of production, are under collective ownership. Therefore, production can only be stimulated by developing the role played by collective labor. The advantage of this contracting method is that the cropland of the unit is centralized in large fields conducive to the use of collective draft power. Ordinarily, a field area consists of good fields, average fields and poor fields. Each unit accepts a large section of fields within an area and can mobilize all draft power and labor within the unit to complete work in a short amount of time, complete work on schedule. This would solve some problems currently being encountered, such as each person working a few pieces of land scattered across a field and finding it difficult to travel from one field to

another to cultivate crops, particularly in times of natural disasters. Only the collective labor of a unit has the conditions needed to establish a division of labor and augment one another. Only when production units have been made solid and strong is it possible to resolve the problems being encountered in production, possible to heighten the spirit of mutual assistance among cooperative members. At the same time, this is the only way to provide the conditions needed to implement the army's rear area policies and the other policies of the party and state in a successful and fair manner.

The implementation of this contracting method demands that the number of intermediary elements be reduced and that the right of collective ownership of the working people be upheld. From the standpoint of organization, the cooperative directly guides the production units and the units manage production. Guidance and the implementation of guidance are directly tied to production, thus cutting down on bureaucracy. The fact that the size of units is not large makes it easy for cooperative members to control the units' work. Supervising the cooperative management board's efforts to provide a full supply of fertilizer, pesticide, seed and so forth is the responsibility of production unit cadres. With the current approach of each person working by himself, of each family working on its own, it is not possible to achieve the strength needed to struggle against negative phenomena and against the bureaucracy and irresponsibility of cooperative cadres.

In summary, we are in the period of transition to socialism. We must develop appropriate transitional economic forms and not satisfy ourselves with the way things are being done now. Rather, we must gradually work to build a beautiful, civilized and socialist countryside. Product contracts with production units will create the conditions for building the countryside, molding new persons who possess good ethics and qualities, are skilled in organization and management... and thus lay the groundwork for subsequent stages of development.

C. Dividing cooperatives into smaller cooperatives to suit the scale of production and the standards and capabilities of present cooperative cadres; correctly determining the amount of area under cultivation and crop output.

1. The only form of cooperativization which corresponds to work tools and a level of agricultural production that are, for the most part, still non-mechanized and crude is the small-scale cooperative. Village-size cooperatives and cooperatives which encompass several villages are only appropriate when production has been mechanized and business encompasses many different sectors and trades. It was our skipping stages and organizing large-scale cooperatives that led us to production relations becoming divorced from and going far beyond the nature and level of development of production forces, to the decline in production. To stabilize the situation, we

introduced agricultural product contracts with individual laborers and, as a result, turned some cooperatives that once did business in many sectors and trades into cooperatives which practice the monoculture of rice. Village-size cooperatives and cooperatives which encompass several villages are not suited to production conditions and the management standards of cooperative cadres as they exist today. In recent years, facts in the North have shown that cooperatives which consist of 300 to 400 households, 30 to 40 in each production unit, are of the right size. Unit chiefs should be persons who are skilled in farm work, are capable of managing work and are just. Assistant unit chiefs need not necessarily be party members. They should be elected in a truly democratic manner.

2. To correct the problem of fields let out on contract to cooperative members not being used for the correct purpose (at some cooperatives, there is more of this land with each passing season) and insure that cooperative members are correctly assigned the full amount of land under contracts, contract output requirements must be calculated more accurately and should not be raised at will after each season and year. Contract output requirements must be reasonable. Cooperative members who work hard should be able to keep as income at least 50 percent of the product they produce.

It can be accurately stated that final product contracts with individual laborers played a positive role at one point in their history. They exerted a good impact in the initial stage of the recent efforts to restore and stabilize agricultural production. However, this "mission" of theirs has now been completed.

The socialist path remains the path of earning a living collectively. Collective ownership, collective production and distribution in accordance with labor—these are its principles. Final product contracts with units are a step that is consistent with the law of advancing agriculture from small-scale to large-scale, socialist production. If we continue to use the old contracts, they will become a source of inertia and cause production to stagnate. We cannot advance to socialism by continuing to let out on contract to farmers a few pieces of land scattered across a large field.

Using final product contracts with production units, holding cadres and the related sectors accountable for the implementation of contracts and readjusting the size of cooperatives are closely related steps that have an impact upon one another. None should be given light attention. Along with these organizational and management measures, importance must also be attached to educational work aimed at raising the socialist awareness of farmers and encouraging the socialist emulation movement with a view toward molding new persons, cultivating the new style of work in the countryside and stimulating the development of production.

Ideological Life: the Instigator

421000120 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 87 pp 73-74

[Article by Tran Tuy]

[Text] Since ancient times, there have always been many different kinds of masters of their craft in society. The educator and the physician are masters of their craft who have always been respected. The fortune teller and the wizard are masters of their craft who are ridiculed and criticized. But there is one "master" in particular who is not only criticized, but is hated and reviled as well. He is the master...instigator.

He is called the "master instigator" because he is a "master" at sticking his nose into other people's business and provoking them into doing things that harm others. According to the original definition of this word, an instigator was someone who provoked other persons into bringing suit against each other in court. Today, "instigator" is used in many cases to refer to and criticize persons who slander others and "play two adversaries against each other," persons who want to be the "strategist," the "military advisor" but are incompetent and insincere, have evil intentions, have ulterior motives and are opportunistic.

As we know, in everyday life, particularly whenever there is important work to be performed, we consult and listen to one another's opinions. Those who know how to perform the work at hand give advice and counsel to those who do not. This is commonplace and very necessary. The same applies to the leadership agencies and cadres on the various levels, that is, they need assistance and staff personnel. We welcome and are thankful for the accurate and correct opinions contributed by each and every person to our common work just as we welcome and are thankful for the assistance provided by loyal, objective and skilled specialists. At the same time, we must be vigilant against, must expose and denounce instigators, expose and denounce advisors motivated by opportunism.

We must be vigilant because, in practice, it is not easy to immediately flush out an instigator. Sometimes, he is a person who is respected, trusted and holds an important position.

We must expose and denounce the instigator because, if we do not, he can, by means of his cunning tactics, reverse the situation, cause internal disorder and cause major harm to our common work.

Many persons have observed instigators and concluded that the instigator is very adept at flattering and ingratiating himself with others. His talk is always sweet, like honey to the ears. He is perfectly polite and always looking for ways to please his superiors, please the chief. He is always going around spying and picking up pieces of information, always keeps his ears and eyes open and

listens attentively to the chief so that he knows just when to open his mouth. He gives the chief good advice on one subject but leads him astray and gives him distorted information on another. If the chief is someone who has a mania for achievements, he will praise and flatter him at great length.

The common tactics of the instigator are to misrepresent and distort facts, set up a smoke screen and bend the truth. If this "master" likes someone or wants someone to be promoted or given a raise, he will praise this person to the skies to the chief. But if this "master" hates someone or wants to put someone down, he will accuse this person of all sorts of wrongdoing in order to sully his reputation. If you have done something that displeases this "master" (which sometimes arises because he is jealous of your position, influence, or personal life), and he has as yet not been able to do something against you, he will look for every way to at least damage your reputation. He will keep track of even your most trivial everyday mistakes so that, when necessary, they can be compiled in an "impressive report" in order to denounce you. He will insinuate to your chief that you are a "good for nothing"! He will often times appear to be objective and not frankly state his opinions at all but say, in the name of "reporting the situation" or "reflecting public opinions": "I have heard this said about you" or "this is the complaint that your fellow workers and the masses are making about you." The opinions he expresses, however, are actually only his.

The instigator is two-faced in a "special way." Saying one thing but doing another, he dares to sell his conscience, sell the spirit of comradeship for a petty personal interest. If, concerning a certain matter, person A says one thing, the instigator will nod his head and say "yes, that's correct" but when person B says just the opposite, the instigator appears quite satisfied and replies: "Yes, you are right"! The instigator is as sneaky as a snake, as a louse. He evades responsibility, falsely accuses others and then denies any involvement. He secretly trips other persons and causes them to fall. Then, he feigns compassion while hissing and showing his claws.

In such ways, the instigator causes much harm. Agencies and units lose their internal unity because of instigators. Friends and comrades avoid one another because of instigators. And, in many cases, these kinds of "masters" distort information and cause great misunderstanding, which lead to incorrect decisions and inaccurate policies. Have not leaders been deceived by instigators into not listening to things that are true, not using persons who are good, turning black into white and turning correct thinking into incorrect thinking? Have there not been cases in which chiefs themselves have been controlled by instigators, in which instigators have gained their confidence and caused harm?

The conscience of the instigator is truly despicable. The harm caused by an instigator is truly enormous. Yet, why do instigators still retain the confidence of others and

sometimes enjoy a reputation that is as high as a kite in the wind? One reason is because instigators, as was Truong Nghi, are very adept at ingratiating themselves with others. The second reason is because there are persons in this life who like to be "instigated," who like to hear sweet talk, who are unwilling to listen to forthright words and unable to distinguish between right and wrong. These persons possess none of the necessary character traits. Their standards in every field are low. In addition, they refuse to put themselves in touch with practice, in touch with the masses. They do not go to many places, do not hear much, consequently, they have no grasp of the essence of the situation.

Actually, before becoming instigators, some persons possess certain strengths (strengths in the true sense of the word) and are able at first to do some jobs well. Gradually, they become trusted. But their superiors and collective fail to manage or educate them well. Their chief treats them with far too much consideration, listens to them and considers them to be "complete" and "perfect," which only serves to make them more arrogant and deviant with each passing day.

The danger for the instigator is that he will find it difficult to "put his talents to good use" if everyone is alert and vigilant, clearly differentiates between right and wrong, between good and bad and does not confuse brass with gold.

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Letter to Editorial Board: We Must Generate Waves of Necessary Public Opinion

42100012p Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 87 p 75

[Letter from Nguyen Manh Hung, Quy Nhon Teachers College]

[Text] For a very long period in the history of man, there were no written codes of law. Feudalism existed for thousands of years. Although the provisions of its law were very cruel, its code of law was not full or complete. Nevertheless, order and the rules of social life were maintained. This was largely due to public opinion. Therefore, public opinion is figuratively called "the unwritten code of law." Although there are two types of public opinion, they share a number of common characteristics: they both break out rapidly, spread widely and have the effect of very tightly "encircling" their objective. Therefore, if a good phenomenon emerges, it is immediately widely welcomed and supported by public opinion. The majority of the people immediately learn about, endorse and encourage it. If something bad arises, it is immediately criticized, ridiculed and even scorned to the point of losing face in a way that gives the majority the force to suppress the object of their opinion. As a result, what the common people of yesterday feared and the common people of today fear the most is not the law, but public opinion. The kinds of public opinion and

their characteristics never change. The important role of public opinion in social life cannot be doubted. Yet, it is regrettable that we have not learned how to use this "weapon" well. In society, there is indifference toward things good as well as bad. Many persons have the attitude of turning their back on the things that take place around them. This attitude is one of seeing what is right but not defending it, seeing what is wrong but not struggling against it. There have been cases in which persons have seen a thief steal another person's purse but pretended not to see what happened because they did not want to get involved. They left everything up to the police and security forces. If this momentum continues, I fear that public opinion will no longer play its role as "the unwritten code of law." Since the 6th Party Congress, our party has been experiencing a period of violent churning in order to move ahead. We are also looking for ways to overcome and eventually eliminate negative phenomena in social life. One of the most effective ways to do this, in my opinion, is to generate "waves" of necessary public opinion. If this is done, not only will the law be supported, but, in more than a few cases, public opinion will take the place of the law, will be more timely and effective than the law. 7809

Concerning Trends of World Economy and Far Reaching Changes Taking Place Within Socialist Community

42100012q Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 87 pp 76-80

[Article by The Phan]

[Text] To adopt new thinking, most importantly, economic thinking, we must take a hard look at the country's socio-economic situation. But we also cannot fail to have an overview of the trends of the world economy and the far reaching reforms now taking place within the socialist community in order to bring new perspectives to our way of thinking and our way of performing economic work.

I. The Trends of the World Economy

While there are different assessments of what these trends are, in my humble opinion, the following several stand out:

First, the present scientific-technological revolution has caused the production forces of mankind to develop at an unprecedented rate, especially in the following sectors: electronics and micro-electronics, computer science, artificial intelligence and robotics, new energy sources, new materials, biology and genetics. This revolution has also caused the economic structure, the social structure and the management mechanism of many countries to undergo profound changes. For example, new production sectors called "leading" sectors have been born and developed strongly. Meanwhile, some "traditional" sectors producing such basic products as agricultural products, petroleum products, cement, iron

and steel, have declined because the products they produce are no longer selling as well as they once did because new products have taken their place or because new technologies and industrial methods have made it possible to reduce the level of consumption of these products.

The service sectors, from the production services to the services involved in the circulation of goods and money, information services, consultant services and so forth, have developed especially strongly. The number of persons working in these sectors in the developed countries now accounts for as much as 60 to 70 percent of the total work force.

The ratio of material costs (raw materials, building materials, energy and so forth) to intellectual costs per unit of product and the number of "blue collar workers," that is, manual laborers, as a percentage of the total work force have been steadily declining (in some countries, manual workers account for only 12 to 15 percent of the work force).

The organization of production and the management mechanism of countries are also changing along lines that are more "flexible" and "open." Small and medium-scale enterprises are now preferred because innovations, inventions, new technologies and new industrial methods can be introduced in production more rapidly and changes on the domestic and world markets can be responded to more quickly.

Secondly, the trend toward the internationalization of the life of nations has been steadily growing through the emergence of global issues (safeguarding peace, protecting the environment, the development of the oceans and space and so forth) and increasing ties among countries in the economic field. The international division of labor has become an essential and increasingly strong trend.

On the other hand, rivalries, competition and "economic wars" between the socialist and capitalist systems and among countries and groups of countries within the capitalist world have become so intense that a new product of modern industry can be forced from the market in 1 to 3 years, a new industrial sector can become outmoded in only 3 to 5 years, a super power rival or even a group of super powers might be "knocked out" on the market in 5 to 10 years, etc.

Thirdly, in a world in which there is such a unity of opposites, the comparison of economic forces among countries and groups of countries also undergoes changes. For example, Japan and Western Europe are challenging the United States for control of the capitalist world. Many new industrial countries have emerged that are very capable of competing on the world market, even against the developed capitalist countries. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in Eastern Europe are catching up to and surpassing the developed

capitalist countries in every field, including productivity, quality and economic efficiency, in order to prove, in practical terms, the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Fourthly, to make itself part of the common trends of the world economy mentioned above and achieve a high rate of development, every nation must select an optimum economic development strategy for itself. However, all or practically all countries, especially the developing countries, share the following concepts:

That they must use the scientific-technical achievements of our times in order to quickly develop, in order to "take a shortcut" into the "leading" production sectors or quickly introduce new technologies and new industrial processes in production;

That they must increasingly participate in the international division of labor and select an optimum division of labor for themselves on the basis of calculating "comparative advantage" and "comparative costs" (that is, earning the highest possible profit at the lowest possible costs). This is the best way to maintain economic independence under circumstances in which all countries must depend upon one another to survive and develop. Economic independence does not mean producing everything by oneself in a "closed" cycle, but producing and selling those products that are most profitable and then buying whatever else one needs.

On the basis of the thinking presented above, it is necessary to make a strong shift in the direction of intensive economic development with importance attached to the various forms of domestic and overseas economic ties. It is also necessary to correctly deal with the relationships between the national and the international, between independence and dependence, between self-reliance and economic ties, between the economy and politics, etc.

It must be understood that the concept of a nation's strength in the economic field is a dialectical concept. This strength can only be achieved and increased when the economy becomes a dynamic and organic part of the world economic system. Today, abundant labor and the blessings of nature, such as rich natural resources, favorable climate and so forth, are no longer as decisive as they once were. Because, today, a country in which natural resources are not plentiful and natural conditions are harsh can still become rich. And, the surplus labor of a country also does not mean much if it is only simply manual labor. Today, when talking about the economic strength of a nation, we usually emphasize those factors related to the quality of its "gray matter": technically skilled and organized labor; the ability to select an optimum economic development strategy; the ability to manage the domestic economy well and quickly adapt to economic changes overseas; the ability to apply new scientific and technological achievements; the ability to conduct foreign trade; the ability to obtain

and use economic information, etc. In their adjustment of economic development strategy or reform of the economic management mechanism, all nations must seek to make maximum use of their strengths and select a correct course by which to internationalize the country's economy.

II. Concerning the Far-reaching Changes Now Taking Place Within the Socialist Economy

In recent years, many countries within the socialist community have made far-reaching reforms. The premise, the starting point of these reforms has been the adoption of new thinking. In the spirit of squarely facing the truth, our friends have adopted new thinking concerning numerous important issues, such as:

First, there is new thinking concerning the stages into which socialism is divided. Previously, as a result of being subjective and impetuous and wanting to skip stages in the way characteristic of "sentimental socialism," many countries prematurely declared that one stage had been concluded and another begun in their process of developing socialism. Today, the Soviet Union and many other fraternal countries, in an attitude both objective and scientific, have reassessed where they are in terms of their specific stage of development and are overcoming the negative consequences of defining their current stage incorrectly and incorrectly evaluating their starting point.

Second, there is new thinking concerning the movement of the general laws and the special laws of socialism. Previously, there were such misconceptions as denying or giving light attention to the existence of objective contradictions within socialism and not considering these contradictions to be forces behind development. Compatibility between production relations and the nature and level of development of production forces was considered to be automatic under socialism. The relationships between goods and money and the law of value were considered foreign to the nature of socialism, consequently, efforts were made to control and nullify their impact. Too many capabilities were accredited to the law of planned economic development and centralism in management and their implementation was mechanical, was divorced from the level of socio-economic development and the level of economic management and was in opposition to market forces.

Today, these misconceptions have been corrected and the role and impact of the general laws and the special laws of socialism have been reasserted. The law that production relations must be compatible with the nature and level of development of production forces and the law of value are considered to be more important than previously thought in both research and application. The

special laws of socialism, such as the fundamental economic law, the law of planned economic development, the law of distribution in accordance with labor and so forth, are also being researched in order to be defined in more accurate detail.

Third, there is new thinking concerning the nature of the economy under socialism.

Previously, emphasis was usually only placed upon the "planned" nature of the economy. That the economy was a commodity economy was given light attention or denied. Today, we recognize this economy as a planned commodity economy and stressed the need to utilize the relationships between goods and money and the market as a basis for planning and tools for adjusting and supplementing plans. Previously, the only consumer goods were commodities and their market consisted only of consumer goods. Today, the commodity market, in general, encompasses consumer goods, means of production and the services.

Whether or not there is competition within the socialist economy is also a question being raised in research work.

Fourth, there is new thinking concerning the system of ownership and the system of distribution.

Previously, only two forms of ownership were recognized, in practical terms, as existing during the period of transition: state-operated ownership and cooperative ownership. Other forms of ownership, such as private ownership, household ownership and so forth, were either denied or given light attention. Today, the private and self-employed economies are permitted to operate within a certain scope. The household economy of cooperative members, workers and civil servants is now recognized as a component of the socialist economy.

Previously, while the principle of distribution in accordance with labor was recognized, the distribution system itself was one of equalization. Differences in income were limited and there was little connection between interests and material accountability. In addition, there still existed in society very many unreasonable sources of income, that is, income not derived from labor. Today, there is a determination to implement the principles of distribution in accordance with labor and eliminate illegitimate sources of income.

Fifth, there is new thinking concerning international economic relations.

Previously, economic relations within the socialist community were usually viewed as being limited to foreign trade, credit and aid relations. Today, these relations have been expanded into other fields, such as capital investments, cooperation in production, cooperation in the field of labor and scientific-technical cooperation.

Previously, in the economic field, too much emphasis was placed upon mutual assistance. Today, mutually beneficial cooperation must also be achieved.

As regards the capitalist countries, the previous policy was, for the most part, a "closed door" policy. Relations with the capitalist countries were few. Those that did exist were largely defensive. Today, these relations are being actively expanded and are more progressive in nature.

As regards the developing countries, political relations were once the only relations to which importance was attached. Today, economic cooperation is being promoted.

Previously, in the relations among countries, in general, we usually only stressed independence and sovereignty while giving light attention to our interrelationships. Today, we see that the world economy is an entity in which all countries must participate and that each and every independent, sovereign nation must take both its interests and the interests of other countries into consideration in order to achieve good economic cooperation.

In summary, the world is changing in many respects and adopting new thinking. We cannot content ourselves with old knowledge. Rather, we must take the pulse of life in our times, adopt new concepts and acquire new knowledge in order to perform economic work better.

Old concepts must be selectively discarded and new, scientifically based concepts must be established so that our economic thinking is compatible with the new times in which we live. We feel that special attention must be given to the following several concepts:

First, we must oppose the concept of a "self-contained" economy and cultivate the thinking of taking the initiative and increasingly participating in the international division of labor by means of export-import activities and the various forms of trade and cooperation with other countries, most importantly the countries within the socialist community. The broader this participation is, the greater the benefits from it will be.

Second, in international economic relations, we must know what the strengths of the nation are, what the strengths of the times are and how to combine these two strengths in economic work in a way that yields the greatest benefits. We should not place too much emphasis upon "god given" factors, such as abundant labor, rich natural resources, tropical natural conditions and so forth. Rather, we must make every effort to create for ourselves factors of decisive significance, such as highly technically skilled labor that is well organized and well managed; the ability to correctly formulate socio-economic development strategies; the ability to manage and direct economic activities, etc.

Third, in relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries within the socialist community, we once had the thinking of relying upon aid and unilateral assistance and only maintained foreign trade and credit relations with them. Today, however, these relations must be expanded to cooperation in many fields and the principles of equality and mutual benefit must truly be the principles that guide the economic relations between our country and the fraternal countries. We cannot live by relying upon others—even close fraternal countries. Moreover, we must make our own contributions to the economic development of the entire community, must contribute to the spread of real socialism across our planet.

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From Books and Newspapers of Fraternal Countries: Concerning Social Contradictions of Socialism (*)

42100012r Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 87 pp 81-88

[Article by M. N. Rutkevich, press Academician, the Soviet Academy of Sciences]

[Text] We would like to focus the attention of readers on the social contradictions of socialism that correspond with Soviet society in its current stage of development. These are the contradictions found in the social field as a separate field of social life, the contradictions in social relations as the relations among the classes, groups and strata of society down to individuals and as they exist under our conditions. They even include the contradictions within the relations among the various nationalities.

The basis of all the contradictions in social life, including under socialism, is the contradiction between the two aspects of the mode of production. This contradiction is not simply an economic contradiction, but a socio-economic contradiction.

In its broader form, this contradiction can be understood as the contradiction between the current state and need for development of social production forces and the system of production and economic relations that has been formed. The above mentioned contradiction between the two aspects of the mode of production was considered by the founders of Marxism to also be the contradiction among the basic interests of the various social classes and groups, one created by a given mode of production, that is, the contradiction among the basic segments of the class-social structure of society during a given period of time. This applies to all the strata and groups in (or outside) the basic segments, to the strata and groups playing the role of "subordinate segments" within the structure mentioned above and to the last

"small bricks" in the foundation of all forms of the social structure—that is, to the separate individuals and their interests and roles (which are sometimes significant) in the process of history.

It is necessary to analyze the contradictions among the various fields, sectors, facets and aspects of social life as a complete system, one that extends down to the contradictions among persons, most importantly among the classes, among the groups and strata of society, which differ in terms of their position within a given system of production relations in history. These types of contradictions can and must be called social contradictions in a special, particular and scientific sense of this concept, one that began with Marx and has become a part of all Marxist books and the party documents of the CPSU.

In the "preface" to the "Critique of Political Economics," historical materialism was presented in its entirety for the first time. K. Marx directed attention to the fact: "The mode of production of material life determines the process of social, political and spiritual life, in general." (1) In this "preface," the word "social" is used in its special sense. Moreover, it is used in the sense of being the link between the economic base and the political and ideological superstructure. Social relations, there can no longer be any doubt, consist of the relations among the social classes and groups, the strata and subgroups within them, the collectives and small groups and extend to individuals, that is, consist of the entire system of relations which man calls the social structure of society. In one sense, with more than 100 nationalities and tribes living together, thus creating a new historical community, the Soviet people, the relations among the nationalities also lie within the social field.

Under socialism, the class-social structure continues to be the primary structure. Here, in view of the present conditions of the process of breaking down social boundaries, a process which has come very far, it is absolutely necessary to take into consideration not only the differences among the classes (and among the various groups), but also the differences within the classes (and within the groups, as long as they are intellectual circles). From the standpoint of a number of parameters, for example, in the field of distribution, the second differences have become more important than the first.

The second matter in the nature of methodology that must be examined is that of the relationship between social differences and social contradictions. In the first stage of communism, in my opinion, the view tantamount to methodology which V.I. Lenin applied in his famous and full definition of a class retains its basic meaning: the classes are large groups consisting of persons who are different from the standpoint of their position within a specific social production system in history, different from the standpoint of their relations (ordinarily, these relations are defined and recognized by the law) vis-a-vis the means of production, different from the standpoint of their role in the organization of

social production and, therefore, different from the standpoint of how they receive social wealth and whether they receive little or much." (2) In this basic part of his definition, after defining the essence of class differences (their position within a given system of social production), Lenin examined these differences systematically, that is, as an entity consisting of three factors corresponding to the three basic components of production relations: the relations involved in the ownership of the means of production; trade relations, which determine the role of the classes in the division of labor and the organization of social labor; and the relations in the field of distribution, but Lenin's definition of a class did not stop here. He then went on to point out the connection between class differences and the contradictions among the classes. The following is the second and concluding portion of the definition of a class that we are examining: "Classes are groups of people. One group can appropriate the labor of another group due to the fact that these groups occupy different positions within a given socio-economic system." (3)

Thus, when analyzing society, it is necessary to study social contradictions. These contradictions are due to the different positions of persons within the production system. Due to this difference, contradictions arise among the interests of the classes and social groups, among the various strata, subgroups and individuals.

The difference between socialism and the antagonistic class forms that preceded it was viewed by Lenin as lying not in the fact that, under socialism, social differences and contradictions begin to disappear, but in the elimination of the appropriation of the labor of one group by another group and, as a result, the elimination of class antagonisms, which causes the nature of social contradictions to change in a fundamental way. V.I. Lenin stressed: "Antagonisms and contradictions are not the same. Under socialism, the first disappears, the second remains." (4)

Therefore, attention must be given to the fact that an antagonism is a special form of social contradiction. As regards non-antagonistic contradictions, the special characteristic is that common, long-range, basic and objective interests are greater than the interests in dispute. These contradictions, in essence, are the contradictions between the working class and its allies among the various laboring classes, including working farmers, under the conditions of capitalism.

The non-antagonistic nature of the contradictions between the working class and small propertied working farmers continues to exist during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. These contradictions were resolved in the Soviet Union, as we have seen, through the process of bringing small farmers into cooperatives at the same time as abolishing the last exploiting class, the class of wealthy farmers. The outcome of collectivization was the emergence of a new social class—the character of

which is socialist—the class of cooperative farmers (collective farmers). However, remnants of this antagonism exist in a special form until the difference between the two forms of socialist ownership is completely eliminated.

In current books on Soviet society, the extremely simplistic and very dogmatic thinking which prevailed for such a very long time, that it is only necessary to put the means of production under the ownership of society in order for production relations to forever be compatible with production forces, can be considered to no longer exist. V.I. Lenin pointed out that this "compatibility" will never be achieved and cannot be achieved in the development of nature or in the development of society... (5)

In their broader form, the causes of the unfavorable trends that became evident in the 1970's and early 1980's were defined by M.S. Gorbachev at the 27th Congress of the CPSU as follows: "For many years, not only because of objective factors, but most importantly because of subjective factors, the practical activities of party and state agencies failed to keep pace with the demands of the times and life itself. In the country's development, more problems arose than were resolved. Inertia, rigid forms and methods of management, a decline in dynamism in work and a sharp increase in bureaucracy—all these things caused considerable harm to our work. Stagnation began to be clearly evident in the life of society." (6)

However, certain vestiges, certain "scars" of this non-dialectical thinking are sometimes clearly evident even today. In economic books, this is seen in a simplistic understanding of the system of production relations, namely, that they are relations which only involve the ownership of means of production. The relations among relatively separate enterprises (the federations of enterprises) which have the right to use some of society's means of production and, behind these relations, the relations within these basic production units, in other words, the entire economic-organizational "foundation" of production (the economic mechanism, the economic management system, which are the most dynamic components of production relations) still remain in the shadows. In practical terms, the extent to which these relations are incompatible with the needs faced in the development of production forces is posing an obstacle to the development of production and the measures being taken to perfect the economic management mechanism that has the task of resolving this contradiction.

In books on philosophy and sociology which address the issue of the contradictions existing under socialism, much attention is given to finding the imagined differences between the "basic" contradictions and the "primary" contradictions of socialism and playing with concepts without the necessary analysis of the contradictions between the two aspects of the mode of production.

the contradictions within the system of economic relations and, beyond that social contradictions as contradictions among the interests of the various social groups. These are the contradictions among the interests of the classes and social groups, the various strata of working people and also among socio-demographic groups, the population groups and occupational groups, among the workers within the different economic sectors, within the different worker collectives and among the interests of state agencies and the different territories, republics, nationalities and tribes. In philosophical and sociological projects on the contradictions of socialism, the analysis presented often does not reach the point of studying the real social contradictions among persons or the paths that should be taken to resolve them. And this is something of enormous significance to management agencies, which, in practice, will be making decisions to resolve all or part of these contradictions—contradictions which are sometimes very sharp and are in the form of conflicts. Theoretical thinking has the task of analyzing the social contradictions of socialism before these contradictions become deep and, moreover, before they assume the form of a conflict, thus providing the management agencies on each level with practical assistance.

Over the past 15 years, the contradiction between the needs to advance science and technology, conserve raw materials and, on this basis, develop production in depth and the profound backwardness of production relations has become sharp. The main reasons why this contradiction has become sharp have been backwardness in the field of economic management, in the economic management mechanism and the inability of this mechanism to stimulate scientific-technical advances and a rapid rise in labor productivity.

Thus, what are the reasons that have caused books on scientific theory, which includes philosophy, to not be fully concerned with social contradictions while the political press raises this issue in a bolder manner? In our view, this simple attitude toward explaining the contradictions of socialism has its immediate premise in the tendency to absolutize the greatest achievements of socialism—the tendency to view as identical the basic interests of all the major groups among the working people (the working class, collective farmers, people's intellectuals and all nationalities and tribes within the country)—the tendency to continuously build the socio-political unity of Soviet society.

The unity that exists in the socio-economic, political and spiritual fields of our society and the tendency to strengthen this unity—these are things that cannot be doubted. But this does not mean that there are no social contradictions within this unity, no contradictions from the perspectives of economic interests, ideological guidelines or the socio-psychological reasons propelling actions. The 27th Congress of the CPSU pointed out that "...the unity of socialist society does not mean that social life has been made a level plane. Socialism develops all the diverse interests, the needs and the talents of man

and actively supports the autonomous activities conducted by social organizations which express this diversity." (7) But some scientists do not recognize that the tasks involved in further strengthening the unity of Soviet society demand the most detailed and objective analysis of the current differences in the interests among the classes and social groups, among the subgroups and strata within them, among the occupational groups and groups of occupational levels, among the workers working in the different economic sectors and the different regions of the country, among the worker collectives and the groups within them and possibly even the non-antagonistic contradictions arising on the basis of these differences.

By taking into detailed consideration the similarity and the peculiarity of the interests of the classes and social groups in its policy, the communist party insures the solid unity of society, insures that its most important and complex tasks will be performed. As the classes and social groups, as the various strata and worker subgroups come closer together from the standpoint of objective circumstances, their existence and consciousness assume more common characteristics, the level of social unity of society rises and the interests of all groups and strata come closer to being the same. The Soviet communist party and state, which express the long-range interests of society in their policies, have been and are constantly taking into consideration the non-antagonistic contradictions arising in the process of development among the social groups and various strata and are resolving these contradictions on the basis of giving priority to fundamental interests, common interests and long-range interests. The party has been making every effort to help eliminate class and social differences. At the same time, however, as long as these differences exist, the party will still consider its foremost task to be combining the interests of the classes and social groups with the interests of all the people in an optimum way.

In its economic and social policies, the party has been trying to take into consideration and tie together as many as possible of the separate interests not only of the classes and social groups and the subgroups and strata within them, but also of the territorial units and economic sectors and, as a result, of the populations of the territories and the workers currently working in the enterprises and organizations of these sectors, of the socio-democratic subgroups within the population (men and women, youths and the retired), of the republics and different regions, of the nationalities and tribes within the country.

Efforts to satisfy the rising needs of the worker by one method or another will be thwarted by limited reserves, most importantly in the production of grain, food products and industrial consumer goods for the people and in the field of the material services. Because the ability to increase welfare is not limitless, an order of priorities must be set in raising income by type of work, by sector and by area of the country.

The above is entirely consistent with the distribution relations among the various social groups and strata. For example, in recent decades, there has been an increase in contradictions in the payment of wages to workers and to intellectuals who are engineers and technical personnel. The wages of workers have risen faster than the wages of engineers and technical personnel.

A similar problem is faced in the case of a number of specialists working in the non-production field. Here, we must also establish a definite order of priorities.

The contradictions in the field of material allowances are also related to retirement pension rates among persons of the same skill level and occupation but who retire at different ages as well as the retirement pension rates of collective farmers, workers and personnel.

The contradictions among the groups of workers working in the different sectors, which have come about as a result of shortcomings in the economic mechanism, are also very significant. The following is a typical example. Collective farms and state farms commonly operate at a loss. Meanwhile, the enterprises of the agricultural technology and agricultural chemistry ministry as well as the production enterprises of a host of ministries which process agricultural products earn large profits. As a result, these enterprises can give their cadres, manual workers and civil servants considerable bonuses.

Lastly, even within the framework of each specific sector, there are contradictions between the collectives of enterprises which work well and actively apply scientific-technical advances and collectives which do not bring about any basic improvements to their technology and produce poor quality products which sometimes cannot be marketed and remain in warehouses. Therefore, it is especially important that full economic accountability be established in the relations among enterprises on the basis of contracts signed among them together with establishing a fixed rate at which profits are contributed to the state budget. This is the most important path for resolving contradictions among the collectives of enterprises and then among the sectors—together with their financing their own operations.

In the future, the application of economic accountability can play the decisive role in eliminating the contradictions among the interests of the provinces, regions and republics.

It cannot be our objective here to analyze or to even describe all the social contradictions existing today as a result of shortcomings in the economic management mechanism. They manifest themselves in the establishment of capital investment rates and even within the price system, including procurement prices. In fact, they are seen in every element of the system of socio-economic relations. These are living, real and sometimes sharp social contradictions. Making basic changes to the

economic management system and perfecting the economic management mechanism on the basis of establishing economic accountability that is truly not a "form for form's sake" accountability and is established not only in sections and units, but also in plants, enterprises, combines, sectors, regions and republics—this is currently a very important guideline in the struggle to eliminate these contradictions and, as a result, accelerate the economic and social progress of Soviet society. Concerning the improvement of management, one task is to insure that the interests of the individual, the interests of the worker collectives, of the different social groups are combined in the best way possible with the interests of the entire country, of all the people. Consequently, another task is to use these interests as a force behind economic development, with national interests being given absolute priority over all others.

Here, attention must be given to one point tantamount to a principle. The subsidiary economy of individuals is an integral part of the socialist agricultural economy, is a unique "subsidiary plant" of the social economy. It must be recognized that, except in cases in which prices have been raised to levels higher than actual labor costs, that is, speculative prices, the products and goods of the individual subsidiary economy are, generally speaking, required to comply with the following common formula: "Wholesome activity of commodity-money relations on the basis of socialism." (8)

Thus, we have come to the examination of a very common and especially sharp contradiction, one that easily becomes a conflict—the contradiction between the interests of society, of all honest workers, who make up the majority of the population, and those elements who are not compatible with society, who receive income not from labor and who, as a result, live partly or wholly on the backs of honest workers, on the back of society, in general. These are the speculators, the persons who offer bribes, the persons who misappropriate socialist property, the thieves, the poachers, the parasites... The party considers it a matter of principle to be determined to eradicate income not from labor; determined to eliminate every divergence from the principles of socialist distribution; and determined to eliminate anti-social forms of redistribution of income and welfare, eliminate parasitism and speculation.

In our books on philosophy, there has not always been a correct evaluation of the nature of the contradictions between society and elements not compatible with society. The conflict between society and these elements has sometimes been used to present views on the rebirth of social antagonisms in the current stage of development of socialism. We think that it would truly be a mistake to confuse social antagonisms with personal antagonisms. Concerning this matter, K. Marx wrote: "Bourgeois production relations are the final antagonistic form of the social production process. This is not a personal antagonism, but an antagonism arising under the conditions of the social life of individuals..." (9) We maintain

that an even greater mistake is the statements and remarks made not too long ago in philosophy books concerning the possibility for antagonisms between the strata of organizers and the working masses to re-emerge. Of course, bureaucracy and abuses by agency cadres and personnel are in contradiction with the democratic nature of socialism, with the interests of the people. V.I. Lenin considered the struggle against bureaucracy to be especially important at times that are turning points...

While evaluating the matters presented above, it is very important that attention be given to the fact that in addition to those persons whose basis of life and activity is in contradiction with the foundation of socialism, there is a much larger group of persons who live mainly by labor but who engage in certain behavior that goes against socialist ethics and sometimes even against socialist law. Alcoholism, hooliganism, the disruption of order at public places and so forth are, very regrettably, quite widespread. These kinds of contradictions are not only contradictions between certain individuals and society, but are also contradictions within individuals themselves.

Efforts to correct "social shortcomings" take place in the material field as well as the spiritual field. The opinion is sometimes expressed that the phenomena mentioned above lie within the field of consciousness and, therefore, that they can be overcome by improving the way that communism is taught. However, to achieve this objective, we cannot stop at measures that have an educational impact or compulsory measures. Of primary importance here is the need to further improve the material base of the socialist way of life and all social relations, the need to develop socialist democracy.

Increasing the supply of material things—this is the necessary prerequisite to developing the character under socialism. But this must be the result of raising activism and consciousness in the field of labor. If spiritual development lags far behind the rise in welfare, the emergence of an attitude of "taking it easy" will become a greater possibility even if the rise in welfare is accomplished through honest labor.

The contradictions in the behavior of some youths in society, persons who simultaneously adhere to the principles of socialism but also violate these principles to some extent, is a non-antagonistic contradiction, is a contradiction in the behavior of an individual. Because,

objectively speaking, the fundamental interests of society and the interests of these members of society are the same. Consequently, the basis exists for successfully correcting the negative phenomena in their behavior.

Footnotes

* Excerpts from translation of article published in *SCIENCE OF PHILOSOPHY REVIEW* (Soviet Union), No 5-1986, pp 13-24.

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume 1, p 576.

2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, pp 17-18.

3. Ibid., p 18.

4. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works" (Russian version), Moscow, 1985, p 391.

5. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 376.

6. Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the 27th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, Novosti News Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1986, p 6.

7. Ibid., p 75.

8. Ibid., p 60.

9. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume 1, p 578.

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Photographs of Vo Chi Cong, Pham Hung and Le Quang Dao

42100012s Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Jul 87 pp 13, 15, 17

[Photographs of Vo Chi Cong, president of the State Council; Pham Hung, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Le Quang Dao, chairman of the National Assembly; photographs not reproduced]

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